Robert Reid

THE

TRUTH

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

IN

SIX BOOKS.

BY

HUGO GROTIUS.

Corrected and Illustrated with NOTES,

By Mr. LE CLERC.

TRANSLATED

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Dean of SARUM.

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BODLEIANA

TO THE

Moſt noble and moſt excellent

HIERONYMUS BIGNONIUS,

The King's Sollicitor in the ſupreme court of audience at PARIS.

Moſt noble and excellent Sir,

I SHOULD offend againſt juſtice, if I ſhould divert another way that time which you employ in the exerciſe of juſtice in your high ſtation. But I am encouraged in this work, becauſe it is for the advancement of the Chriſtian religion, which is a great part of juſtice, and of your office; neither would juſtice permit me to approach any one elſe ſo ſoon as you, whoſe name my book glories in the title of. I do not ſay I deſire to employ part of your leiſure; for the diſcharge of ſo extenſive

an office allows you no leiſure. But ſince change of buſineſs is inſtead of leiſure to them that are fully employed, I deſire you would, in the midſt of your forenſic affairs, beſtow ſome hours upon theſe papers. Even then you will not be out of the way of your buſineſs. Hear the witneſſes, weigh the force of their teſtimony, make a judgment, and I will ſtand by the determination.

Paris, Auguſt 27,
cIↃ IↃC XXXIX.

Hugo Grotius.

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To the Honourable HIERONYMUS BIGNONIUS, His Majesty's Sollicitor IN THE CHIEF COURT of *PARIS*.

BOOK I.

Sect. I. *The Occasion of this Work.*

YOU have frequently enquired of me, worthy Sir, (whom I know to be a gentleman that highly deserves the esteem of your country, of the learned world, and, if you will allow me to say it, of myself also;) what the substance of those books is, which I wrote in defence of the Christian religion, in my own language. Nor do I wonder at your inquiry; for you, who have, with so great judgment, read every thing that is worth reading, cannot but be sensible with how much philosophic nicety Ræmundus Sebundus (*a*), with what entertaining dialogues Ludovicus Vives, and with how

(*a*) *Raemundus Sebundus*, etc.] These were the chief writers upon this subject in Grotius's time; but since then, a great number have wrote concerning the truth of the Christian religion, especially in French and English; moved thereto

great eloquence your Mornæus, have illuſtrated this matter. For which reaſon it might ſeem more uſeful, to tranſlate ſome of them into our own language, than to undertake any thing new upon this ſubject. But though I know not what judgment others will paſs upon me, yet have I very good reaſon to hope that you, who are ſo fair and candid a judge, will eaſily acquit me, if I ſhould ſay, that after having read not only the fore-mentioned writings, but alſo thoſe that have been written by the Jews in behalf of the antient Jewiſh diſpenſation, and thoſe of Chriſtians for Chriſtianity, I chuſe to make uſe of my own judgment, ſuch as it is; and to give my mind that liberty which at preſent is denied my body; for I am perſuaded that truth is no other way to be defended but by truth, and that ſuch as the mind is fully ſatisfied with; it being in vain to attempt to perſuade others to that which you yourſelf are not convinced of: wherefore I ſelected, both from the antients and moderns, what appeared to me moſt concluſive; leaving ſuch arguments as ſeemed of ſmall weight, and rejecting ſuch books as I knew to be ſpurious, or had reaſon to ſuſpect to be ſo. Thoſe which I approved of, I explained and put in a regular method, and in as popular a manner as I could, and likewiſe turned them into verſe, that they

by the example of Grotius, whom they imitated, and ſometimes borrowed from him: ſo that the glory of ſo pious and neceſſary a method of writing, chiefly redounds to him. Le Clerc.

might the eaſier be remembered. For my deſign was to undertake ſomething which might be uſeful to my countrymen, eſpecially ſeamen; that they might have an opportunity to employ that time which, in long voyages, lies upon their hands, and is uſually thrown away: wherefore I began with an encomium upon our nation, which ſo far excells others in the ſkill of navigation; that by this means I might excite them to make uſe of this art, as a peculiar favour of heaven; not only to their own profit, but alſo to the propagating the Chriſtian religion: for they can never want matter, but in their long voyages they will every where meet either with Pagans, as in China or Guinea; or Mahometans, as in the Turkiſh and Perſian empires, and in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; and alſo with Jews, who are the profeſſed enemies of Chriſtianity, and are diſperſed over the greateſt part of the world; and there are never wanting prophane perſons, who, upon occaſion, are ready to ſcatter their poiſon amongſt the weak and ſimple, which fear had forced them to conceal: againſt all which evils, my deſire was to have my countrymen well fortified; that they who have the beſt parts, might employ them in confuting errors; and that the other would take heed of being ſeduced by them.

SECT. II. *That there is a God.*

AND that we may ſhow that religion is not a vain and empty thing; it ſhall be the buſineſs of this firſt book, to lay the foundation thereof in

the exiſtence of the Deity: which I prove in the following manner. That there are ſome things which had a beginning, is confeſſed on all ſides, and obvious to ſenſe: but theſe things could not be the cauſe of their own exiſtence; becauſe that which has no being, cannot act; for then it would have *been* before it *was*, which is impoſſible; whence it follows, that it derived its being from ſomething elſe: this is true not only of thoſe things which are now before our eyes, or which we have formerly ſeen; but alſo of *thoſe things* out of which *theſe* have ariſen, and ſo on, till we arrive at ſome cauſe (*a*), which never had any beginning, but exiſts, as we ſay, neceſſarily, and not by accident: now, this being, whatſoever it be, (of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully by and by) is what we mean by the Deity, or God. Another argument for the proof of a Deity, may be drawn from the plain conſent of all nations, who have any remains of reaſon, any ſenſe of good manners, and are not wholly degenerated into brutiſhneſs. For, human inventions, which depend upon the arbitrary will of men, are not always the ſame every where, but are often changed; whereas there is no *place* where this notion is

(*a*) *Till we arrive at ſome cauſe*, etc.] Becauſe, as their manner of ſpeaking is, there can be no ſuch thing as going on for ever; for of thoſe things which had a beginning, either there is ſome firſt cauſe, or there is none. If it be denied that there is any firſt cauſe; then thoſe things which had a beginning, were without a cauſe; and conſequently exiſted, or came out of nothing, of themſelves, which is abſurd. Le Clerc.

not to be found; nor has the courſe of time been able to anſwer it, (which is obſerved by Ariſtotle himſelf (*a*), a man not very credulous in theſe matters;) wherefore we muſt aſſign it a cauſe as extenſive as all mankind; and that can be no other than a declaration from God himſelf, or a tradition derived down from the firſt parents of mankind: if the former be granted, there needs no further proof; if the latter, it is hard to give a good reaſon why our firſt parents ſhould deliver to poſterity a falſity in a matter of ſo great moment. Moreover, if we look into thoſe parts of the world, which have been a long time known, or into thoſe lately diſcovered; if they have not loſt the common principles of human nature, as was ſaid before, this truth immediately appears; as well amongſt the more dull nations, as amongſt thoſe who are quicker, and have better underſtandings; and, ſurely, theſe *latter* cannot all be deceived, nor the *former* be ſuppoſed to have found out ſomething to impoſe upon each other with: nor would it be of any force againſt *this*, if it ſhould be urged, that there have been a few perſons, in many ages, who did not

(*a*) *Ariſtotle himſelf*, etc.] Metaphyſ. book xi. chap. 5. where, after relating the fables of the gods, he has theſe words, 'Which if any one rightly diſtinguiſhes, he will keep wholly to this as the principal thing; that to believe the gods to be the firſt beings, is a divine truth: and that though arts and ſciences have probably been often loſt, and revived; yet this opinion hath been preſerved as a relict to this very time.' Le Clerc.

believe a God, or at leaſt made ſuch a profeſſion; for, conſidering how few they were, and that as ſoon as their arguments were known, their opinion was immediately exploded; it is evident, it did not proceed from the right uſe of that reaſon which is common to all men; but either from an affectation of novelty, like the heathen philoſopher who contended that ſnow was black; or from a corrupted mind, which, like a vitiated palate, does not reliſh things as they are: eſpecially ſince hiſtory and other writings inform us, that the more virtuous any one is, the more carefully is this notion of the Deity preſerved by him: and it is further evident, that they who diſſent from this antiently eſtabliſhed opinion, do it out of an ill principle, and are ſuch perſons, whoſe intereſt it is that there ſhould be no God, that is, no judge of human actions; becauſe whatever hypotheſes they have advanced of their own, whether an infinite ſucceſſion of cauſes, without any beginning; or a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, or any other, it is attended (*a*) with as great, if not greater difficulties, and not

(*a*) *It is attended with as great*, etc.] Grotius might have ſaid, and that not raſhly, that there are much greater difficulties in the opinions of thoſe who would have the world to be eternal, or always to have *been*: ſuch as, that it muſt have come out of nothing of *itſelf*, or that it aroſe from the fortuitous concourſe of *atoms*; opinions full of manifeſt contradictions, as many ſince Grotius's time have exactly demonſtrated; amongſt whom is the eminent and learned Dr Ralph Cudworth, who wrote the Engliſh treatiſe Of the intellectual Syſtem of the Uni-

at all more credible than what is already received; as is evident to any one that conſiders it ever ſo little. For that which ſome object, that they do not believe a God, becauſe they do not ſee him; if they can ſee any thing, they may ſee how much it is beneath a man, who has a *ſoul* which he cannot ſee, to argue in this manner. Nor if we cannot fully comprehend the *nature* of God, ought we, therefore, to deny that there is any *ſuch* being; for the *beaſts* do not know what ſort of creatures *men* are, and much leſs do they underſtand how men, by their reaſon, inſtitute and govern kingdoms, meaſure the courſe of the ſtars, and ſail croſs the ſeas: theſe things exceed their reach. And hence *man*, becauſe he is placed, by the dignity of his *nature*, above the *beaſts*, and *that* not by himſelf, ought to infer, that *he* who gave him this ſuperiority above the beaſts, is as far advanced beyond *him*, as *he* is beyond the *beaſts*; and that therefore there is a *nature*, which, as it is more excellent, ſo it exceeds his comprehenſion.

SECT. III. *That there is but one God.*

HAVING proved the exiſtence of the Deity: we come next to his attributes; the firſt whereof is, that there can be no more Gods than ONE. Which may be gathered from hence; becauſe, as was before ſaid, God exiſts neceſſarily, or is ſelf-

verſe. There are alſo other and natural philoſophers, very excellent Engliſh divines Le Clerc.

exiſtent. Now, that which is *neceſſary* or *ſelf-exiſtent*, cannot be conſidered as of any kind or ſpecies of beings, but as actually exiſting, and is therefore a ſingle being (*a*): for, if you imagine many gods, you will ſee that *neceſſary exiſtence* belongs to none of them; nor can there be any reaſon why two ſhould rather be believed than three, or ten than five: beſide, the abundance of particular things of the ſame kind, proceeds from the fruitfulneſs of the cauſe, in proportion to which more or leſs is produced; but God has no cauſe, or original. Further, particular different things are endued with peculiar properties, by which they are diſtinguiſhed from each other; which do not belong to God, who is a neceſſary being. Neither do we find any ſigns of many gods; for this whole univerſe makes but one world, in which there is but *one* (*b*) thing that far exceeds the reſt in beauty, *viz.* the ſun; and in every man there is but *one thing* that governs, that is, the mind. Moreover, if there could be two or more gods, free agents, acting according

(*a*) *And is therefore a ſingle being*, etc.] But a great many ſingle beings, are a great many individual beings; this argument, therefore, might have been omitted, without any detriment to ſo good a cauſe. Le Clerc.

Whoever would ſee the argument for the unity of God, drawn from his *neceſſary* or *ſelf-exiſtence*, urged in its full force, may find it at the beginning of Dr. Sam. Clarke's Boyle's Lectures.

(*b*) *One thing that far exceeds*, etc.] At leaſt to the inhabitants of this our Solar Syſtem, as we now term it; as thoſe fiery centres the ſtars, are to other ſyſtems. Le Clerc.

to their own wills, they might *will* contrary to each other; and ſo *one* be hindered by the *other* from effecting his deſign; now a poſſibility of being hindered is inconſiſtent with the notion of God.

SECT. IV. *All Perfection is in God.*

THAT we may come to the knowlege of the other attributes of God; we conceive all that is meant by *perfection*, to be in him (I uſe the Latin word *perfectio*, as being the beſt that tongue affords, and the ſame as the Greek τελειότης.) Becauſe whatever perfection is in any thing, either had a beginning, or not; if it had no beginning, it is the perfection of God; if it had a beginning, it muſt of neceſſity be from ſomething elſe: and ſince none of thoſe things that exiſt, are produced from nothing; it follows, that whatever *perfections* are in the effects, were firſt in the cauſe, ſo that it could produce any thing endued with *them*; and conſequently they are *all* in the firſt cauſe. Neither can the firſt cauſe ever be deprived of any of its perfections: not from any thing elſe; becauſe that which is eternal, does not depend upon any other thing; nor can it at all ſuffer from any thing that they can do: nor from itſelf, becauſe every nature deſires its own perfection.

SECT. V. *And in an infinite Degree.*

TO this muſt be added, that theſe perfections are in God, in an infinite degree: becauſe thoſe

attributes that are finite, are therefore limited, becauſe the cauſe whence they proceed, has communicated ſo much of them and no more; or elſe, becauſe the ſubject was capable of no more. But no other nature communicated any of its perfections to God; nor does he derive any thing from any one elſe, he being, as was ſaid, neceſſary or ſelf-exiſtent.

SECT. VI. *That God is Eternal, Omnipotent, Omniſcient, and completely Good.*

NOW ſeeing it is very evident, that thoſe things which have *life*, are more perfect, than thoſe which have not; and thoſe which have a *power of acting*, than thoſe that have none; thoſe which have *underſtanding*, than thoſe which want it; thoſe which are *good*, than thoſe which are not ſo; it follows, from what has been already ſaid, that thoſe attributes belong to God, and *that* infinitely: wherefore he is a *living infinite* God; that is, *eternal*, of *immenſe power*, and every way *good*, without the leaſt defect.

SECT. VII. *That God is the Cauſe of all Things.*

EVERY thing that is, derives its exiſtence from God; this follows from what has been already ſaid. For we conclude, that there is but one neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent being; whence we collect, that all other things ſprung from a being different from themſelves: for thoſe things which are derived from ſomething elſe, were all of them, either immediately in themſelves, or me-

diately in their cauſes, derived from him who had no beginning, that is, from God, as was before evinced. And this is not only evident to reaſon, but in a manner to ſenſe too: for, if we take a ſurvey of the admirable ſtructure of a human body, both within and without; and ſee how every, even the moſt minute part, hath its proper uſe, without any deſign or intention of the parents, and with ſo great exactneſs, as the moſt excellent philoſophers and phyſicians could never enough admire; it is a ſufficient demonſtration that the author of nature is the moſt *complete underſtanding*. Of this a great deal may be ſeen in Galen (*b*), eſpecially where he examines the uſe of the hands and eyes: and the ſame may be obſerved in the bodies of dumb creatures; for the figure and ſituation of their parts to a certain end, cannot be the effect of any power in matter. As alſo in plants and herbs, which is accurately obſerved by the philoſophers. Strabo (*b*) excellently well takes notice hereof in the

(*a*) *In Galen*, etc.] Book iii. ch. 10. which place is highly worth reading, but too long to be inſerted. But many later divines and natural philoſophers in England have explained theſe things more accurately. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *Strabo*, etc.] Book xvii. Where, after he had diſtinguiſhed betwixt the works of *nature*, that is, the material world, and thoſe of *providence*, he adds; 'After the earth was ſurrounded with water, becauſe man was not made to dwell in the water, but belongs partly to the earth, and partly to the air, and ſtands in great need of light; (providence) has cauſed many eminences and cavities in the earth, that in theſe, the water, or the greateſt part of it, might be receiv-ed; whereby that part of

poſition of water, which, as to its quality, is of a middle nature betwixt air and earth, and ought to have been placed betwixt them, but is therefore interſperſed and mixed with the earth, leſt its fruitfulneſs, by which the life of man is preſerved, ſhould be hindered. Now, it is the property of intelligent beings only to act with ſome view. Neither are particular things appointed for their own peculiar ends only, but for the good of the whole; as is plain in water, which, contrary to its own natute (*a*), is raiſed upwards, leſt, by a vacuum, there ſhould be a gap in the ſtructure of the univerſe, which is upheld by the continued union of its parts. Now, the good of the whole could not poſſibly be deſigned, nor a power put into things to tend towards it, but by an intelligent being, to whom the univerſe is ſubject. There are, moreover, ſome actions even of the beaſts, ſo ordered and directed, as plainly diſcover them to be the effects of ſome

the earth under it might be covered; and that by the other, the earth might be advanced to cover the water, except what is of uſe for men, animals, and plants.' The ſame hath been obſerved by Rabbi Jehuda Levita, and Abeneſdra, amongſt the Jews, and St. Chryſoſtom, in his 9th Homily of Statues, among Chriſtians.

(*a*) *Contrary to its own nature*, etc.] This was borrowed from the Peripatetic philoſophy, by this great man; which ſuppoſed the water in a pump to aſcend for fear of a vacuum; whereas it is now granted by all, to be done by the preſſure of the air. But by the laws of gravitation, as the moderns explain them, the order of the univerſe, and the wiſdom of its Creator, is no leſs conſpicuous. Le Clerc.

ſmall degree of reaſon: as is moſt manifeſt in ants and bees, and alſo in ſome others, which, before they have experienced them, will avoid things hurtful, and ſeek thoſe that are profitable to them. That this power of ſearching out and diſtinguiſhing, is not properly in themſelves, is apparent from hence, becauſe they act always alike, and are unable to do other things which do not require more pains; wherefore they are acted (*a*) upon by ſome foreign *reaſon*, and what they do, muſt of neceſſity proceed from the *efficiency* of that *reaſon* impreſſed upon them: which *reaſon* is no other than what we call *God*. Next, the heavenly conſtellations, but more eſpecially thoſe eminent ones, the ſun and moon, have their courſes ſo exactly accommodated to the fruitfulneſs of the earth, and to the health of animals, that nothing can be imagined more convenient:

(*a*) *Wherefore they are acted upon*, etc.] No, they are done by the ſoul of thoſe beaſts, which is ſo far reaſonable, as to be able to do ſuch things, and not others. Other wiſe God himſelf would act in them inſtead of a *ſoul*, which a good philoſopher will hardly be perſuaded of. Nothing hinders but that there may be a great many ranks of ſenſible and intelligent natures, the loweſt of which may be in the bodies of brute creatures; for no-body, I think, really believes with Ren. Cartes, that brutes are mere corporeal machines. But you will ſay, when brute creatures die, what becomes of their ſouls? That indeed I know not, but it is nevertheleſs true that ſouls reſide in them. There is no neceſſity that we ſhould know all things, nor are we therefore preſently to deny any thing, becauſe we cannot give account of it. We are to receive thoſe things that are evident, and be content to be ignorant of thoſe things which we cannot know. Le Clerc.

for though otherwiſe, the moſt ſimple motion had been along thee quator, yet are they directed in an oblique circle, that the benefit of them might extend to more places of the earth. And as other animals are allowed the uſe of the earth; ſo mankind are permitted to uſe thoſe animals, and can, by the power of his reaſon, tame the fierceſt of them. Whence it was, that the Stoics concluded (*a*), that the world was made for the ſake of man. But ſince the power of man does not extend ſo far as to compel the heavenly luminaries to ſerve him, nor is it likely they ſhould, of their own accord, ſubmit themſelves to him; hence it follows, that there is a ſuperior *underſtanding*, at whoſe command thoſe beautiful bodies afford their perpetual aſſiſtance to man, who is placed ſo far beneath them: which *underſtanding* is none other than the maker of the ſtars and of the univerſe. The eccentric (*b*) motions of

(*a*) *The Stoics concluded*, etc.] See Tully in his firſt book of Offices, and his ſecond of the Nature of the Gods.

(*b*) *The eccentric motions*, etc.] This argument is learnedly handled by Maimonides, in his Ductor Dubitantium, part ii. c. 4. And if you ſuppoſe the earth to be moved, it amounts to the ſame thing in other words.

Ibid. Theſe, and ſome of the following things are according to the vulgar opinion, which is now exploded; but the efficacy of the divine power is equally ſeen in the conſtant motion of the planets in ellipſes, about the ſun through the moſt fluid vortex; in ſuch a manner as not to recede from, or approach to their centre, more than their wonted limits, but always cut the ſun's equator at like obliquity. Le Clerc. Sir Iſaac Newton has demonſtrated, that there are no ſuch vortexes, but that their motions are better explained without them.

the ſtars, and the epicycles, as they term them, manifeſtly ſhow, that they are not the effects of matter, but the appointment of a free agent; and the ſame aſſurance we have from the poſition of the ſtars, ſome in one part of the heavens, and ſome in another; and from the unequal form of the earth and ſeas: nor can we attribute the motion of the ſtars, in ſuch a direction, rather than another, to any thing elſe. The very figure of the world, which is the moſt perfect, *viz.* round, and all the parts of it incloſed, as it were, in the boſom of the heavens, and placed in wonderful order, ſufficiently declare, that theſe things were not the reſult of chance, but the appointment of the moſt excellent underſtanding: for, can any one be ſo fooliſh, as to expect any thing ſo accurate from chance? He may as ſoon believe, that pieces of timber, and ſtones, ſhould frame themſelves into a houſe (*a*); or that from letters thrown at a venture, there ſhould ariſe a poem; when the philoſopher, who ſaw only ſome geometrical figures on the ſea-ſhore, thought them plain indications of a man's having been there, ſuch things not looking as if they proceeded from chance. Beſides, that mankind were not from eternity, but date their original from a certain period of time, is clear, as from other arguments, ſo from the ‡ im-

(*a*) *Into a houſe*, etc.] Or ſhip, or engine.

‡ *The improvement of arts*, etc.] Tertullian treats of this matter from hiſtory, in his book concerning the ſoul, ſect. 30. 'We find, ſays he, in all commentaries, eſpecially of the antiquities of men, that mankind increaſe by de-

provement of arts, and thoſe deſart places, which came afterwards to be inhabited; and is further

grees,' etc. And a little after, 'The world manifeſtly improves every day, and grows wiſer than it was.' Theſe two arguments cauſed Ariſtotle's opinion, (who would not allow mankind any beginning) to be rejected by the learned hiſtorians, eſpecially the Epicureans. Lucretius, book v.

If heaven and earth had no original,
How is it, that before the Trojan war,
No poets ſung of memorable things;
But deeds of heroes dy'd ſo oft with them;
And no where, monuments rais'd to their praiſe?
This ſhews the world is young and lately made.
Whence 'tis that arts are every day encreas'd,
Or freſh renewed; and ſhips ſo much improv'd,
And muſic, to delight the ear.
With a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe.

Virgil, Eclogue vi.

——— From theſe firſt principles
All things aroſe, hence ſprung the tender world.

And in his Georgics.

Uſe firſt produc'd thoſe various arts we ſee,
By ſmall degrees; this taught the huſbandman
To plow and ſow his fields; from the hard flint
To fetch the hidden ſparks; then men began
With hollow boats to croſs the ſtream; pilots
Call'd Hyades and Pleides, their ſigns,
And Charles's Wain: then ſportſmen ſpread their nets
To catch wild beaſts, and dogs purſu'd their game.
Some drain the rivers, and ſome ſeek the main,
Stretching their nets to incloſe the finny prey:
Others with iron forge whet inſtruments
To cleave the yielding wood; then arts aroſe.

Horace, book i. ſat. 3.

When firſt mankind began to ſpread the earth,
Like animals devoid of ſpeech, they ſtrove

evidenced by the language of iſlands, plainly derived from the neighbouring continents. There are

With utmoſt ſtrength of hands, for dens and acorns;
From thence to clubs, and then to arms they came,
Taught by experience; till words expreſs'd
Their meaning, and gave proper names to things:
Then ended wars; cities were built, and laws were made
For thieves, adulterers, and rogues.

Pliny, in his third book of Natural Hiſtory, about the beginning; 'Wherefore I would be ſo underſtood, as the words themſelves ſignify, without the flouriſh of men; and as they were underſtood at the beginning, before any great exploits were performed.' The ſame author affirms, that the Hercinian wood (in Germany) was coaeval with the world, book xvi. Seneca, in Lactantius, 'It is not a thouſand years ſince wiſdom had a beginning.' Tacitus's Annals iii. 'The firſt men, before appetite and paſſion ſwayed them, lived without bribes, and without iniquity; and needed not to be reſtrained from evil by puniſhment: neither did they ſtand in need of reward, every one naturally purſuing virtue; for, ſo long as nothing was deſired contrary to morality, they wanted not to be reſtrained by fear: but after ey laid aſide equity; and violence and ambition ſucceeded in the room of honeſty and humility; then began that power which has always continued amongſt ſome people. But others immediately, or at leaſt after they grew weary of kings, preferred a legal government.' And Ariſtotle could not fully perſuade himſelf, any more than others, of the truth of his own hypotheſis, that mankind never had any beginning. For he ſpeaks very doubtfully of the matter in many places, as Moſes Maimonides obſerves in his Ductor Dubitantium, part ii. In the prologue to his ſecond book, concerning the heavens, he calls his poſition, only a perſuaſion, and not a demonſtration; and there is a ſaying of the ſame philoſopher, in the third book of the ſoul, chap. iii. 'That perſuaſion is a conſequence of opinion.' But his principal argument is drawn from the abſurdity of the contrary o-

moreover certain ordinances ſo univerſal amongſt men, that they do not ſeem ſo much to owe their inſtitution to the inſtinct of nature, or the deductions of plain reaſon; as to a conſtant tradition, ſcarce interrupted in any place, either by wickedneſs or misfortune: of which ſort were formerly

pinion, which ſuppoſes the heavens and the univerſe not to be created, but generated; which is inconſiſtent. Book xi. of his Metaphyſics, chap. 8. he ſays, 'It is very likely that arts have often been loſt, and invented again.' And in the laſt chapter of the third book of the Generation of Animals, he has theſe words, 'It would not be a fooliſh conjecture concerning the firſt riſe of men and beaſts, if any one ſhould imagine, that of old they ſprung out of the earth one of theſe two ways, either after the manner of maggots, or to have come from eggs.' After his explication of each of theſe, he adds, 'If therefore animals had any beginning, it is manifeſt it muſt be one of theſe two ways.' The ſame Ariſtotle, in the firſt of his Topics, chap. xi. 'There are ſome queſtions againſt which very good arguments may be brought; (it being very doubtful which ſide is in the right, there being great probability on either hand,) we have no certainty of them: and tho' they be of great weight, we find it very difficult to determine the cauſe and manner of their exiſtence; as for inſtance, whether the world were from eternity, or no: for ſuch things as theſe are diſputable.' And again, diſputing about the ſame thing, in his firſt book of the Heavens, chap x. 'What ſhall be ſaid, will be the more credible, if we allow the diſputants arguments their due weight.' Tatian, therefore, did well not to paſs by this, where he brings his reaſons for the belief of the ſcriptures, 'That what they deliver concerning the creation of the univerſe, is level to every one's capacity.' If you take Plato for the world's having a beginning, and Ariſtotle for its having had none; you will have ſeen both the Jewiſh and Chriſtian opinions.

ſacrifices amongſt holy rites; and now ſhame in venereal things, the ſolemnity of marriage, and the abhorrence of inceſt.

SECT. VIII. *The Objection concerning the Cauſe of Evil, anſwered.*

NOR ought we to be in the leaſt ſhaken in what has been ſaid, becauſe we ſee many evils happen, the original of which cannot be aſcribed to God, who, as was affirmed of him, is perfectly good. For when we ſay, that God is the cauſe of all things, we mean all ſuch things as have a real exiſtence; which is no reaſon why thoſe things themſelves ſhould not be the cauſe of ſome accidents, ſuch as actions are. God created man, and ſome other intelligences ſuperior to man, with a liberty of acting; which liberty of acting is not in itſelf evil, but may be the cauſe of ſomething that is evil (*a*). And to make God the author

(*a*) *The cauſe of ſomething that is evil*, etc.] God indeed foreſaw, that free agents would abuſe their liberty, and that many natural and moral evils would ariſe from hence; yet did not this hinder him from permitting ſuch abuſe, and the conſequences thereof; any more than it hindered his creating beings endued with ſuch liberty. The reaſon is plain. Becauſe a free agent being the moſt excellent creature, which diſcovers the higheſt power of the Creator, God was unwilling to prevent thoſe inconveniencies which proceed from the mutability of their nature; becauſe he can amend them as he pleaſes, to all eternity; in ſuch a manner as is agreeable to his own goodneſs, though he has not yet revealed it to us. Concerning which we have largely treated in French, in a book wrote againſt Pet. Bayle, the ſeeming advocate of the Manichees. Le Clerc.

of evils of this kind, which are called moral evils, is the higheſt wickedneſs. But there are other ſorts of evils, ſuch as loſs or pain inflicted upon a perſon, which may be allowed to come from God, ſuppoſe for the reformation of the man, or as a puniſhment which his ſins deſerve: for here is no inconſiſtency with goodneſs; but on the contrary, theſe proceed from goodneſs itſelf, in the ſame manner as phyſic, unpleaſant to the taſte, does from a good phyſician.

SECT. IX. *Againſt two Principles.*

AND here, by the way, we ought to reject their opinion, who imagine that there are two active (*a*) principles, the one good, and the other evil. For, from two *principles*, that are contradictory to each other, can ariſe no regular order, but only ruin and deſtruction: neither can there be a ſelf-exiſtent being perfectly evil, as there is one ſelf-exiſtent perfectly good: becauſe evil is a defect, which cannot reſide but in ſomething which has a being; and the very having a being (*b*) is to be reckoned amongſt the things which are good.

SECT. X. *That God governs the Univerſe.*

THAT the world is governed by the providence

(*a*) *Two active principles*, etc.] This has reſpect to the antient diſciples of Zoroaſtres, and to the Manichees. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *And the very having a being*, etc.] But here the author was ſpeaking of moral and not of natural good. It had therefore been better to have forborn ſuch kind of reaſoning. Le Clerc.

of God, is evident from hence: that not only men, who are endued with underſtanding; but birds, and both wild and tame beaſts, (who are led by inſtinct, which ſerve them inſtead of underſtanding) take care *of*, and provide *for* their young. Which perfection, as it is a branch of goodneſs, ought not to be excluded from God: and ſo much the rather, becauſe he is all-wiſe, and all-powerful, and cannot but know every thing that is done, or is to be done, and with the greateſt facility direct and govern them; to which we may add, what was before hinted, concerning the motion of particular beings, contrary to their own nature, to promote the good of the whole.

SECT. XI. *And the Affairs of this lower World.*

AND they are under a very great miſtake, who confine this providence to the heavenly bodies (*a*); as appears from the foregoing reaſon, which holds as ſtrong for all created things; and moreover, from this conſideration, that there is an eſpecial regard had to the good of man (*b*), in the regula-

(*a*) *To the heavenly bodies*, etc.] This was the opinion of Ariſtotle. See Plutarch concerning the opinions of the philoſophers, book ii. chap. 3. and Atticus in Euſebius's Goſpel-Preparation, book v. ch. 5. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *The good of man*, etc.] Though not for man only, (for it doth not appear, that there are no other intelligent beings, in other planets,) yet partly for him, and ſo far as he makes uſe of them without any detriment to other creatures. Becauſe we cannot live without the ſun; we may well conclude it was made upon our account; unleſs we can imagine that chance provided every thing that is neceſſary for us; which is very abſurd: juſt like a man, who happening

tion of the courſe of the ſtars, as is confeſſed by the beſt philoſophers, and evident from experience. And it is reaſonable to conceive, that greater care ſhould be taken of *that*, for whoſe ſake the *other* was made, than of *that* which is only ſubſervient to it.

And the Particulars in it.

NEITHER is their error leſs, who allow the univerſe (*a*) to be governed by him, but not the particular things in it. For if he were ignorant of any particular things, as ſome of them ſay, he would not be thoroughly acquainted with himſelf. Neither will his knowlege be infinite, as we have before proved it to be, if it does not extend to individuals. Now, if God knows all things, what ſhould hinder his taking care of them; eſpecially ſince individuals, as ſuch, are appointed for ſome certain end, either particular or general: and things in general (which they themſelves acknowlege to be preſerved by God) cannot ſubſiſt but in their individuals: ſo that if the particulars be deſtroyed by providence's forſaking them, the whole muſt be deſtroyed too.

upon a houſe well furniſhed, ſhould deny that it was built for the convenience of men, who are alone capable of enjoying it. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *Who allow the univerſe,* etc.] This was the opinion of the Stoics; ſee Arrius's diſſertations upon Epictetus, book i. chap. 12. and Juſtin Lipſius in his Stoical Phyſiology. Le Clerc.

SECT. XII. *This is further proved by the Preſervation of Empires.*

THE preſervation of commonwealths hath been acknowleged, both by philoſophers and hiſtorians, to be no mean argument for the divine providence over human affairs. Firſt, in general; becauſe wherever good (*a*) order in government and obedience, hath been once admitted, it has been always retained; and, in particular, certain forms of government have continued for many ages; as that of kings among the Aſſyrians, Ægyptians, and Franks; and that of Ariſtocracy among the Venetians. Now, though human wiſdom may go a good way towards this; yet if it be duly conſidered, what a multitude of wicked men there are, how many external evils, how liable things are in their own nature to change; we can hardly imagine any government ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long without the peculiar care of the Deity. And this is more viſible where it has pleaſed God to change a government (*b*); for all things (even thoſe which do not depend upon human prudence) ſucceed beyond their wiſh, (which they do not ordinarily in the variety of

(*a*) *Becauſe wherever good order*, etc.] Becauſe without it, there is no ſuch thing as human ſociety; and without ſociety mankind cannot be preſerved: whence we may collect, that men were created by divine providence, that they might live in ſociety, and make uſe of laws, without which there neither is, nor can be any ſociety. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *To change the government*, etc.] Thus Lucretius.

'Some ſecret cauſe confounds the exploits of men.'

human events,) to thoſe whom God has appointed inſtruments for this purpoſe, as it were, deſtined by him; (ſuppoſe Cyrus, Alexander, Caeſar the dictator, the Cingi amonſt the Tartars (*a*), Namcaa (*b*) amongſt the Chineſe:) which wonderful agreableneſs of events, and all conſpiring to a certain end, is a manifeſt indication of a provident direction. For though a man may now and then throw a particular caſt on a die by chance; yet if he ſhould do it a hundred times together, every body would conclude there was ſome art in it.

SECT. XIII. *And by Miracles.*

BUT the moſt certain proof of divine providence is from miracles, and the predictions we find in hiſtories: it is true, indeed, that a great many of thoſe relations are fabulous; but there is no reaſon to diſbelieve thoſe which are atteſted by credible witneſſes, to have been in their time, men whoſe judgment and integrity have never been called in queſtion. For, ſince God is all-knowing and all-powerful, why ſhould we think

(*a*) *The Cingi amongſt the Tartars*, etc.] He ſeems to mean Genghiz Can, who came out of eaſtern Tartary, and out of the city Caracarom, and ſubdued not only Tartary, but alſo the northern Sina, and India. From him ſprung the Mogul kings, and the princes of the leſſer Tartary. His life is written in French, and publiſhed at Paris, in 1710. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *Namcaa amongſt the Chineſe*, etc.] Here, in juſtice, Manca Capacus ought to be named, who was the founder of the empire of Peru. (See Garſilazzi de la Vega, in Incarum Hiſtoria.)

him not able to ſignify his knowlege or his reſolution to act, out of the ordinary courſe of nature, which is his appointment, and ſubject to his direction and government? If any one ſhould object againſt this, that inferior intelligent agents may be the cauſe of them, it is readily granted; and this tends to make us believe it the more eaſily of God: beſide, whatever of this nature is done by ſuch beings, we conceive God does by them, or wiſely permits them to do them; in the ſame manner as in well regulated kingdoms, nothing is done otherwiſe than the law directs, but by the will of the ſupreme governor.

Sect. XIV. *But more eſpecially amongſt the Jews, who ought to be credited upon the account of the long Continuance of their Religion.*

Now that ſome miracles have really been ſeen, (though it ſhould ſeem doubtful from the credit of all other hiſtories) the Jewiſh religion alone may eaſily convince us: which though it has been a long time deſtitute of human aſſiſtance, nay, expoſed to contempt and mockery, yet it remains to this very day (*a*), in almoſt all parts of the world;

(*a*) *To this very day*, etc.] Hecataeus, concerning the Jews, which lived before the time of Alexander, has theſe words: 'Though they be ſeverely reproached by their neighbours and by ſtrangers, and many times harſhly treated by the Perſian kings and nobility; yet cannot they be brought off from their opinion, but will undergo the moſt cruel torments and ſharpeſt death, rather than forſake the religion of their country.' Joſephus preſerved this place, in his firſt book againſt Appion, and he

when all other (*a*) religions (except the Chriſtian, which is, as it were, the perfection of the Jewiſh) have either diſappeared as ſoon as they were forſaken by the civil power and authority, (as all the Pagan religions did;) or elſe they are yet maintained by the ſame power, as Mahometaniſm is: for, if any one ſhould aſk, whence it is that the Jewiſh religion hath taken ſo deep root in the minds of all the Hebrews, as never to be forced out? there can be no other poſſible cauſe aſſigned or imagined than this; that the preſent Jews re-

adds another example out of the ſame Hecataeus, relating to Alexander's time, wherein the Jewiſh ſoldiers peremptorily refuſed to aſſiſt at the repairing the temple of the god Belus. And the ſame Joſephus has very well ſhown, in his other book againſt Appion, that the firm perſuaſion of the Jews of old, concerning God's being the author of their law, is from hence evident, becauſe they have not dared, like other people, to alter any thing in the laws; not even then, when in long baniſhments, under foreign princes, they have been tried by all ſorts of threatnings and flatteries. To this we may add ſomething of Tacitus, about the proſelytes: 'All that are converted to them, do the like; for, the firſt principle they are inſtructed in, is to have a contempt of the gods, to lay aſide their love to their country, and to have no regard for their parents or brethren.' That is, when the law of God comes in competition with them; which this profane author unjuſtly blames. See further what Porphyry has delivered about the conſtancy of the Jews, in his ſecond and fourth books againſt eating of living creatures; where he mentions Antiochus, and particularly the conſtancy of the Eſſenes amongſt the Jews.

(*a*) *All other religions*, etc.] Even thoſe ſo highly commended laws of Lycurgus, as is obſerved by Joſephus and Theodoret.

ceived it from their parents, and they from theirs, and ſo on, till you come to the age in which Moſes and Joſhua lived; they received, I ſay, by a certain and uninterrupted tradition (*a*), the miracles which were worked, as in other places, ſo more eſpecially at their coming out of Egypt, in their journey, and at their enterance into Canaan; of all which, their anceſtors themſelves were witneſſes. Nor is it in the leaſt credible, that a people of ſo obſtinate a diſpoſition, could ever be perſuaded any otherwiſe, to ſubmit to a law loaded with ſo many rites and ceremonies; or that wiſe men, amongſt the many diſtinctions of religion which human reaſon might invent, ſhould chuſe circumciſion; which could not be performed without great pain (*b*), and was (*c*) laughed at by all ſtrangers, and had nothing to recommend it but the authority of God.

SECT. XV. *From the Truth and Antiquity of Moſes.*

THIS alſo gives the greateſt credit imaginable to the writings of Moſes, in which theſe miracles are recorded to poſterity; that there was not on-

(*a*) *By a certain and uninterrupted tradition*, etc.] To which we give credit, becauſe it was worthy of God to inſtitute a religion in which it was taught, that there was one God the Creator of all things, who is a ſpiritual being, and is alone to be worſhipped. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *Without great pain*, etc.] Philo ſays, it was done with very great pain.

(*c*) *Was laughed at*, etc.] The ſame Philo ſays, 'It was a thing laughed at by every body:' whence the Jews, by the poets, are called cropt, circumciſed, foreſkinned.

ly a ſettled opinion and conſtant tradition amongſt the Jews, that this Moſes was appointed by the expreſs command of God himſelf to be the leader and captain of this people; but alſo becauſe, as is very evident, he did not make his own glory and advantage his principal aim, but he himſelf relates thoſe errors of his own, which he could have concealed; and delivered the regal and ſacerdotal dignity to others (permitting his own poſterity to be reduced only to common Levites.) All which plainly ſhew, that he had no occaſion to falſify in his hiſtory; as the ſtile of it further evinces, it being free from that varniſh and coulour, which uſes to give credit to romances; and is very natural and eaſy, and agreeable to the matter of which it treats. Moreover, another argument for the undoubted antiquity of Moſes's writings, which no other writings can pretend to, is this; that the Greeks (from whom all other nations derived their learning) own, that they had their letters (*a*) from foreigners; which

(*a*) *Had their letters*, etc.] Herodotus in his Terpſichore, ſays, 'That the Ionians had their letters from the Phoenicians, and uſed them with very little variation; which afterwards appearing, thoſe letters were called Phoenician, as they ought to be, from the Phoenicians bringing them into Greece.' He calls them,

The Phoenician characters of Cadmus.

And Calimachus,

—— Cadmus, from whom the Greeks,
Their written books derive.

And Plutarch calls them Phoenician or Punic letters, in his ninth book, and third prob. of his Sympoſiacs, where

letters of theirs have the ſame order, name, and ſhape (*a*), as the Syriac or Hebrew: and further ſtill, the moſt antient Attic laws (*b*), from whence

he ſays, that *alpha*, in the Phoenician language, ſignifies an *ox*, which is very true. Eupolemus, in his book of the kings of Judaea, ſays, 'That Moſes was the firſt wiſe man, and that letters were firſt given by him to the Jews, and from them the Phoenicians received them:' that is, the ancient language of the Jews and Phoenicians was the ſame, or very little different. Thus Lucian. 'He ſpake ſome indiſtinct words, like the Hebrew or Phoenician.' And Choerilus, in his verſes concerning the Solimi, who, he ſays, dwelt near the lake, I ſuppoſe he means Aſphaltites,

Theſe with their tongue pronounc'd Phoenician words.

See alſo the Punic ſcene of Plautus, where you have the words that are put in the Punic language, twice, by reaſon of the double writing; and alſo the Latin tranſlation; whence you may eaſily correct what is corrupted. And as the Phoenician and Hebrew language were the ſame, ſo are the antient Hebrew letters the ſame with thoſe of the Phoenicians. See the great men about this matter, Joſeph Scaliger's Diatriba of the Euſebian year ælo Ioexvii. and the firſt book, ch. x. of Gerard Voſſius's Grammar, (and particularly Sam. Bochart, in his Chanaan.) You may add alſo, if you pleaſe, Clement of Alexandria, Strom. book i. and Euſebius's Goſpel Preparation, book x. chap. 5.

(*a*) *And ſhape*, etc.] He means the Samaritan letters, which are the ſame as the Phoenician, as Lud. Capel. Sam. Bochart, and others have ſhown. I alſo have treated of the ſame in French, in the Biblioth. Select. vol. xi. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *Attic laws*, etc.] You have a famous inſtance of this, in thieves that rob by night, which we have treated of in the ſecond book of War and Peace, ch. i. ſect. 12.; and another in that law, which Sopater recites, 'Let him that is next akin poſſeſs the heireſs;' which is thus explained by Terence, 'There is a law, by which widows

the Roman were afterwards taken, owe their original to the law of Moſes.

SECT. XVI. *From Foreign Teſtimonies.*

To theſe we may add the teſtimony of a great number, who were ſtrangers to the Jewiſh religion, which ſhows, that the moſt antient tradition among all nations, is exactly agreeable to the relation of Moſes. For his deſcription of the original of the world, is almoſt the very ſame as in the antient Phoenician Hiſtories (*a*), which are

ought to be married to the next kinſmen, and the ſame law obliges theſe kinſmen to marry them.' Donatus remarks upon this place thus: 'That the widow ſhould be married to the next kinſman, and he marry her, is the Attic law,' *viz.* taken from the law of Moſes in the laſt chapter of Numbers, which we ſhall have opportunity of ſpeaking more of afterwards. A great many other things may be found to this purpoſe, if any one ſearch diligently for them: as the feaſt in which they carried cluſters of grapes, taken from the feaſt of tabernacles; the law that the high prieſt ſhould marry none but a virgin, and his countrywoman; that next after ſiſters, kinſmen by the father's ſide ſhould inherit: wherefore the Attic laws agree with many of the Hebrew, becauſe the Attics owe many of their cuſtoms to Cecrops king of Egypt; and becauſe God eſtabliſhed many laws amongſt the Hebrews, very much like thoſe of the Egyptians, to which they had been accuſtomed, only reforming ſuch things as were bad in them; as we have often obſerved in our notes upon the Pentateuch, and before us, John Spencer in his book about the ritual laws of the Jews. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *Antient Phœnician hiſtories*, etc.] Euſebius has preſerved them for us, in his firſt book, c. 10. of his Preparation. 'The theology of the Phoenicians ſuppoſes the foundation of the univerſe to have been a dark and windy

tranſlated by Philo Biblius from Sanchuniathon's

air, or the breath of a dark air, and a diſmal chaos, covered with thick darkneſs; that theſe were infinite, and had no bounds for many ages. But when this ſpirit or breath placed its deſire or love on theſe firſt principles, and a mixture was produced thereby, this conjunction was called *love;* this was the beginning of the creation of all things; but the breath, or ſpirit, was not created, and from its embraces proceeded Μώτ, *Mot*, which ſome call *mud*, others the corruption of a watery mixture; this was the ſeminary, and from hence were all things produced.' In Moſes's hiſtory, we find the ſpirit or breath, and the darkneſs; and the Hebrew word מרחפת *Merachepheth*, ſignifies *love*. Plutarch, Sympoſiac. viii. pro. 1. explaining of Plato, ſays, that God is the father of the world, not by the emiſſion of ſeed, but by a certain generative power infuſed into matter; which he illuſtrates by this ſimilitude,

The female bird is oft impregnated,
By the quick motion of the wind.

And Μώτ, *Mot*, מות whence the Greeks derive their Μόθος, *Mothos*, ſignifies, in Hebrew, תהום *Tehom*, in Greek Ἄβυσσος, an *Abyſs*, already in motion: for Ἄβυσσος, *Abyſſos*, is, in Ennius, nothing elſe but *mud*, if I underſtand him right.

From muddy Tartarus a birth gigantic ſprung.

This mud ſeparated into earth and ſea. Apollonius in the fourth of his Argonautics,

The earth's produced from mud.

Upon which place the ſcholiaſt ſays: 'Zeno affirms, that the chaos in Heſiod is water, of which all things were made; the water ſubſiding made mud, and the mud congealing made ſolid earth.' Now, this Zeno was a Phœnician, a colony of whom were planted in Cittium, whence the Hebrews call all beyond the ſeas, כתים *Chittim*. Not much different from which is that of Virgil, Ec. vi.

Then earth began to harden, and include

collection; and a good part of it is to be found

The ſeas within its bounds, and things to take
Their proper forms.

Numenius, cited by Porphyry about the nymph's den, affirms, 'That it was ſaid by the prophet, meaning Moſes, *that the Spirit of God was moved upon the waters;*' the ſame expreſſion which Tertullian uſes concerning baptiſm. Now becauſe the Hebrew word מרחפת *Merachepheth* ſignifies properly the brooding of a dove upon her eggs; therefore it follows in Sanchuniathon, that the living creatures, that is, the conſtellations, were in the mud, as in an egg; and hence that Spirit is called by the name of the *Dove:* under the ſimilitude of which Dove, Rabbi Solomon explains the word מרחפת *Merachepheth*. Nigidius in the ſcholiaſt of Germanicus, ſays, 'That there was found an egg of a huge bigneſs, which being rolled about, was caſt upon the earth, and, after a few days, Venus, the goddeſs of Syria, was hatched thereby.' Lucius Ampelius, in his book to Matrinus, ſays, 'It is reported, that in the river Euphrates, a dove ſat many days upon a fiſh's egg, and hatched a goddeſs, very kind and merciful to the life of man.' Macrobius reſembles the world to an egg, in the ſeventh book and ſixteenth chapter of his Saturnalia. It is ſaid to be *the beginning of generation*, in the Orphic verſes, mentioned by Plutarch, Sympoſiac. xi. ch. 3. and Athenagoras. And hence the Syrian gods are called by Arnobius, *the offspring of eggs:* by which gods he means the ſtars; for it follows, in the Phoenician theology, that 'the mud was illuminated with light, whence came the ſun and moon, and great and little ſtars.' You ſee here, as in Moſes, that light was before the ſun. The word that Moſes uſes immediately after, I mean ארץ *Erets;* where evidently that which was dryed from the water is called יבשה *Jabaſhah;* Pherecydes, from the authority of the Syrians, expreſſes the ſame thus, (as we are informed by others, but particularly by Joſephus, in his firſt book againſt Appion;) 'Chthonia was the name given to the earth after that Jupiter had honoured it.' This place we find in Diogenes La-

among the Indians (*a*), and Egyptians (*b*);

ertius, and others: and Anaximander calls the ſea, 'that which remained of the firſt moiſture of things' That things were confuſed before their ſeparation, (concerning which you have the very words of Moſes in Chalcidius's explication of Timaeus) Linus informs us, as he was himſelf taught, that

In the beginning all things were confus'd.

So Anaxagoras, 'All things were blended together, till the [divine] mind ſeparated them, and adorned and regulated that which was confuſed.' And for this reaſon, was the name *mind* given by Anaxagoras, as Philiaſius aſſures us in his Timon;

For Anaxagoras that hero fam'd,
Was term'd a mind, 'cauſe that was thought by him
A mind, which from confuſion order brought.

All this came from the Phoenicians, who held a very antient correſpondence with the Greeks. The antients ſay, that Linus was deſcended from Phoenix: ſo Orpheus had his opinions from the Phoenicians, one of which was this in Athenagoras, 'That mud proceeded from water.' After which he mentions a great egg ſplit into two parts, heaven and earth. From the ſame Orpheus, Timotheus the chronographer cites this paſſage. 'The chaos was dark as night, in which darkneſs all things under this ſky were involved; the earth could not be ſeen by reaſon of the darkneſs, till light, breaking from the ſky, illuminated every creature.' See the place in Scaliger, in the beginning of the firſt book of the Greek chronicle of Euſebius. In that which follows of Sanchuniathon, it is called βάαυν, which is certainly the בוהו *bohu* of Moſes; and the winds, which are there called χολπία, *kolpia*, are the ſame with קל-פי-יה *Kalpijah*, the voice of the mouth of God.

(*a*) *Among the Indians*, etc.] Megaſthenes, in the fifteenth book of Strabo, expreſſes their opinion thus: 'That in many things they agree with the Greeks; as that the world had a beginning, and will have an end; that it is of a ſpherical figure; that

God the Creator and governor of it penetrates all things; that things had different beginnings; and that the world was made of water.' Clement has preſerved the words of Megaſthenes himſelf out of his third book of the Indian hiſtory, Strom. i. 'All that was of old ſaid concerning the nature of things, we find alſo ſaid by philoſophers who lived out of Greece, the Brachmans among the Indians, and they that are called Jews in Syria.'

(*b*) *The Egyptians*, etc.] Concerning whom, ſee Laertius in his Proemium; 'That foundation was a confuſed chaos, from whence the four elements were ſeparated, and living creatures made.' And a little after, 'That as the world had a beginning, ſo it will have an end.' Diodorus Siculus explains their opinion thus: 'In the beginning of the creation of all things, the heavens and the earth had the ſame form and appearance, their natures being mixed together; but afterwards the parts ſeparating from one another, the world received that form in which we now behold it, and the air a continual motion. The fiery part aſcended higheſt, becauſe the lightneſs of its nature cauſed it to tend upwards; for which reaſon, the ſun and multitude of ſtars go in a continual round; the muddy and groſſer part, together with the fluid, ſunk down by reaſon of its heavineſs. And this rolling and turning itſelf continually round, from its moiſture produced the ſea, and from the more ſolid parts produced the earth, as yet very ſoft and miry; but when the ſun began to ſhine upon it, it grew firm and hard; and the warmth cauſing the ſuperficies of it to ferment, the moiſture, in many places ſwelling, put forth certain putrid ſubſtances covered with ſkins, ſuch as we now ſee in fenny mooriſh grounds, when the earth being cool, the air happens to grow warm, not by a gradual change, but on a ſudden: afterwards the forementioned ſubſtances, in the moiſt places, having received life from the heat in that manner, were nouriſhed in the night, by what fell from the cloud ſurrounding them, and in the day, they were ſtrengthened by the heat. Laſtly, when theſe foetuſes were come to their full growth, and the membranes by which they were incloſed broke by the heat, all ſorts of crea-

tures immediately appeared; thoſe that were of a hotter nature, became birds, and mounted up high; thoſe that were of a groſſer and earthy nature, became creeping things, and ſuch like creatures which are confined to the earth; and thoſe which were of a watery nature, immediately betook themſelves to a place of the like quality, and were called fiſh. Now, the earth being very much dried and hardened, by the heat of the ſun, and by the wind, was no longer able to bring forth living creatures, but they were afterwards begotten by mixing with each other. Euripides ſeems not to contradict this account, who was the ſcholar of Anaxagoras the philoſopher; for he ſays thus in his Menalippe;

Heaven and earth at firſt were of one form,
But when their different parts were ſeparate,
Thence ſprung beaſts, fowls, and all the ſhoals of fiſh,
Nay, even men themſelves.

This therefore is the account we have received of the original of things. And if it ſhould ſeem ſtrange to any one, that the earth ſhould, in the beginning, have a power to bring forth living creatures, it may be further confirmed by what we ſee comes to paſs even now; as in Thebais in Egypt, upon the river Nile's very much overflowing its banks, and thereby moiſtning the ground, immediately by the heat of the ſun there is cauſed a putrefaction, out of which ariſes an incredible number of mice. Now, if after the earth has been thus hardened, and the air does not preſerve its original temperature, yet ſome animals are notwithſtanding produced; from hence, they ſay, it is manifeſt, that in the beginning all ſorts of living creatures were produced out of the earth in this manner.' If we add to this, that God is the Creator, who is called by Anaxagoras a *Mind*, you will find many things agreeing with Moſes, and the tradition of the Phoenicians; As the heavens and earth mixed together, the motion of the air, the mud or abyſs, the light, the ſtars, the ſeparation of heaven and earth, and ſea, the birds, the creeping things, fiſhes, and other animals; and laſt of all, mankind. Macrobius, in his ſeventh of his Saturnalia, chap. 16. tranſcribed the following words from the E-

whence it is, that in Linus (*a*), Heſiod (*b*), and many other Greek writers, mention is made of a

gyptians; 'If we allow, what our adverſaries affirm, that the things which now are, had a beginning; nature firſt formed all ſorts of animals perfect; and then ordained, by a perpetual law, that their ſucceſſion ſhould be continued by procreation. Now, that they might be made perfect in the beginning, we have the evidence of very many creatures produced perfect, from the earth and the water; as in Egypt, mice; and in other places, frogs, ſerpents, and the like.' And it is with juſt reaſon that Ariſtotle prefers Anaxagoras before any of the antient Greek philoſophers, Metap. book i. ch. 3. as a ſober man, when the reſt were drunken; becauſe they referred every thing to matter, whereas this man added alſo a cauſe, which acts with deſign; which cauſe Ariſtotle calls, Nature; and Anaxagoras, Mind, which is better; and Moſes, God; and ſo does Plato. See Laertius, where he treats concerning the firſt principles of things, according to the opinion of Plato; and Apuleius concerning the opinions of Plato. Thales, who was before Anaxagoras, taught the the ſame; as Velleius in Cicero tells us, in his firſt book of the Nature of the Gods: 'For Thales Mileſius, who was the firſt that enquired into ſuch things as theſe, ſays, that water was the beginning of all things; and that God was that mind which formed all things out of water.' Where, by *water*, he means the *chaos*, which Xenophon and others call *earth*; all of them well enough, if we rightly apprehend them.

(*a*) *In Linus*, etc.] In the verſe quoted above.

(*b*) *Heſiod*, etc.] In his Theogonia:

The riſe of all things was a chaos rude,
Whence ſprang the ſpacious earth, a ſeat for gods;
Who dwell on high Olympus' ſnowy top,
Nor are excluded from the dark abyſs
Beneath the earth; from hence the god of love,
Moſt amiable of all, who frees the breaſts
Of men and gods from anxious cares and thoughts;
And comforts each of them with ſoft delight;

chaos, (ſignified by ſome under the name of an egg,) and of the framing of animals, and alſo of

From hence roſe Erebus, and gloomy night.
Theſe produc'd Æther, and the gladſome day,
As pledges of ther love.

If we compare this, with thoſe of the Phoenicians now quoted, it will ſeem to be taken from them. For Heſiod lived hard by the Theban Boeotia, which was built by Cadmus the Phoenician. Ἔρεβος, *Erebus*, is the ſame as Moſes's עֵרֶב *Ereb*; which night and day follow, in the hymns that are aſcribed to Orpheus.

All things that are, ſprung from a chaos vaſt.

In the Argonautics, which go under the ſame name:

In verſe he ſang the origin of things,
Nature's great change; how heav'n on high was fram'd,
The earth eſtabliſh'd, and begirt with ſea.
How Love created all things by his power,
And gave to each of them his proper place.

So alſo Epicharmus, the moſt antient comic poet, relating an old tradition,

'Tis ſaid that Chaos was before the gods.

And Ariſtophanes, in his play called the Birds, in a paſſage preſerved by Lucian, in his Philopatris, and by Suidas;

Firſt of all was Chaos and Night, dark Erebus and gloomy Tartarus;
There was no earth, nor air, nor heaven, till duſky Night,
By the wind's power on the wide boſom of Erebus, brought forth an egg,
Of which was hatch'd the God of Love (when time began;) who with his golden wings,
Fixed to his ſhoulders, flew like a mighty whirlwind; and mixing with black Chaos,
In Tartarus' dark ſhades, produc'd mankind, and brought them into light.
For, before Love joined all things, the Gods themſelves had no exiſtence;

man's formation after the divine image, and the dominion given him over all living creatures; which are to be ſeen in many writers, particularly in Ovid (*a*), who tranſcribed them from the

But upon this conjunction, all things being mixed and blended,
Æther aroſe;
And ſea and earth, and the bleſſed abodes of the immortal gods.

Theſe appear, upon a very ſlight view, to be taken from the tradition of the Phoenicians, who held an ancient correſpondence with the inhabitants of Attica, the moſt ancient of the Ionians. We have already ſpoken of Erebus. Tartarus is תהום *Tehom.* Ἄβυσσος, *Abyſſos*, and מרחפת *Merachepheth*, ſignifies *love*, as was ſhewn before: to which agrees that of Parmenides,

Love was the firſt of all the gods.

(*a*) *In Ovid*, etc.] The place is no further than the firſt book of his Metamorphoſis, and is very well worth reading; the principal things in it being ſo very like thoſe of Moſes, and almoſt the ſame words, ſo that they afford much light to what has been already ſaid, and are likewiſe much illuſtrated by it:

Before the ſea and earth, and heaven's high roof
Were fram'd, nature had but one form, one face;
The world was then a chaos, one huge maſs,
Groſs, undigeſted; where the ſeeds of things
Lay in confuſion, and diſorder hurl'd,
Without a ſun to cheriſh with his warmth
The riſing world; or paler horned moon.
No earth, ſuſpended in the liquid air,
Born up by his own weight; no ocean vaſt
Through unknown tracts of land to cut his way;
But ſea, and earth, and air, are mix'd in one;
The earth unſettled, ſea unnavigable,
The air devoid of light; no form remain'd;
For each reſiſted each, being all confin'd;
Hot jarr'd with cold, and moiſt reſiſted dry;
Hard, ſoft, light, heavy, ſtrove with mighty force;
Till God and nature did the ſtrife compoſe,

Greek. That all things were made by the

By parting heav'n from earth, and ſea from land,
And from groſs air the liquid ſky dividing;
All which from lumpiſh matter once diſcharged,
Had each his proper place, by law decreed:
The light and fiery parts upwards aſcend,
And fill the region of the arched ſky;
The air ſucceeds, as next in weight, and place;
The earth compos'd of groſſer elements,
Was like a ſolid orb begirt with ſea.
Thus the well order'd maſs, into due parts,
Was ſeparated by divine command.
And firſt, the earth not ſtretched into a plain,
But like an artificial globe condenſed;
Upon whoſe ſurface winding rivers glide,
And ſtormy ſeas, whoſe waves each ſhore rebound.
Her fountains ſend forth ſtreams, there one broad lake
Fills a large plain: thus mix'd with pools and ſprings,
The gentle ſtreams, which roll along the ground,
Are ſome by thirſty hollow earth abſorb'd:
Some in huge channels to the ocean bend,
And leave their banks to beat the ſandy ſhoar.
By the ſame power were plains and vales produc'd,
And ſhady woods and rocky mountains rais'd.
The heaven begirt with zones: two on the right,
Two on the left, the torrid one between.
The ſame diſtinction does the earth maintain,
By care divine into five climates mark'd;
Of which the middlemoſt, through heat immenſe,
Has no inhabitants; two with deep ſnow
Are cover'd; what remain are temperate.
Next, between heav'n and earth the air was fix'd,
Lighter than earth, but heavier than fire.
In this low region ſtorms and clouds were hung,
And hence loud thunder timorous mortal frights,
And forked lightning, mix'd with blaſts of wind.
But the wiſe framer of the world did not
Permit them every where; becauſe their force
Is ſcarce to be reſiſted (when each wind

Prevaileth in its turn;) but nature ſhakes,
Their diſcord is ſo great. And firſt the eaſt
Obtains the morn, Arabia's deſart land;
And Perſia's, bounded by the riſing ſun.
Next Zephyr's gentle breeze, where Phoebus dips
Himſelf into the ſea; then the cold north,
At whoſe ſharp blaſts the hardy Scythians ſhake.
And laſt the ſouth, big with much rain and clouds.
Above this ſtormy region of the air,
Was the pure Æther plac'd, refin'd and clear.
When each had thus his proper bounds decreed,
The ſtars, which in their groſſer maſs lay hid,
Appear'd, and ſhone throughout the heaven's orb.
Then, leaſt a barren deſart ſhould ſucceed,
Creatures of various kinds each place poſſeſs'd.
The gods and ſtars celeſtial regions fill,
The waters with large ſhoals of fiſhes throng'd,
The earth with beaſts, the air with birds was ſtock'd.
Nothing ſeem'd wanting, but a mind endu'd
With ſenſe and reaſon to rule o'er the reſt;
Which was ſupply'd by man, the ſeed divine
Of him who did the the frame of all things make;
Or elſe when earth and ſky ————
Some of the heavenly ſeed remain'd, which ſown
By Japhet, and with watry ſubſtance mix'd,
Was form'd into the image of the gods.
And when all creatures to the earth were prone,
Man had an upright form to view the heavens,
And was commanded to behold the ſtars.

Here you ſee man has the dominion over all inferior creatures given him; and alſo that he was made after the image of God, or divine beings. To the ſame purpoſe are the words of Euryſus the Pythagorean, in his book of Fortune; 'His (that is, man's) tabernacle, or body, is like that of other creatures, becauſe it is compoſed of the ſame materials; but worked by the beſt workman, who framed it according to the pattern of himſelf.' Where the word σκῆνος is put for *body*, as in *Wiſdom*, chap. ix. ver. 15. and 2 Cor. v. 1, and 4. To which may be added that of Horace, who calls the ſoul,

word of God, is aſſerted by Epicharmus (*a*), and the Platoniſts(*b*); and, before them, by the moſt

——— *A particle of breath divine.*

And Virgil,

An aethereal ſenſe.

And that of Juvenal, Sat. xv.

——— *Who alone*
Have ingenuity to be eſteem'd,
As capable of things divine, and fit
For arts; which ſenſe we men from heav'n derive,
And which no other creature is allow'd;
For he that fram'd us both, did only give
To them the breath of life, but us a ſoul.

And thoſe remarkable things, relating thereto, in Plato's Phaedon and Alcibiades. Cicero, in the ſecond book of the Nature of the Gods, ſays thus: 'For when he (that is, God) left all other creatures to feed on the ground; he made man upright, to excite him to view the heavens, to which he is related, as being his former habitation.' And Salluſt, in the beginning of the Catiline war. 'All men, that deſire to exceed other animals, ought earneſtly to endeavour not to paſs away their days in ſilence, like the beaſts which nature has made prone, and ſlaves to their bellies.' And Pliny, book ii. ch. 26. 'The never enough to be admired Hipparchus; than whom none more acknowleged the relation betwixt man and the ſtars, and who conſidered our ſouls as a part of the heavens.'

(*a*) *Epicharmus*, etc.] 'Man's reaſon is derived from that of God.'

(*b*) *The Platoniſts*, etc.] Amelius the Platonic. 'And this is that Reaſon, or Word, by which all things that ever were, were made; according to the opinion of Heraclitus: that very Word, or reaſon, the Barbarian means, which ſet all things in order in the beginning, and which was with God before that order, and by which every thing was made, and in which was every creature; the fountain of life and being.' The Barbarian he here ſpeaks of, is St. John the evangeliſt, a little later than whoſe time

antient writer, I do not mean of thoſe hymns which go under his name, but of thoſe verſes which were of old called Orpheus's (*a*); not becauſe Orpheus compoſed them, but becauſe they

Amelius lived. Euſebius has preſerved his words in the 11th book and 19th chapter of his Preparation; and Cyril in his eighth book againſt Julian. St. Auſtin mentions the ſame place of Amelius, in his tenth book and 29th chapter of the City of God, and in the eighth book of his Confeſſions. And Tertullian againſt the Gentiles. 'It is evident, ſays he, that with your wiſe men, the Λόγος, *Logos*, Word or Reaſon, was the maker of the univerſe; for Zeno would have this Word to be the Creator, by whom all things were diſpoſed in their formation.' This place of Zeno was in his book περὶ ὕσιας, *concerning being*, where he calls the τὸ ποιῶν the *efficient cauſe*, Λόγος, the *Word* or *Reaſon*; and in this he was followed by Cleanthes, Chryſippus, Archedemus, and Poſſidonius, as we are told by Laertius, in his life of Zeno. Seneca, in his lxvth epiſtle, calls it the *Reaſon which formeth every thing*. And Chalcidius to Timaeus ſays, 'That the Reaſon of God, is God himſelf, who has a regard to human affairs, and who is the cauſe of mens living well and happily, if they do not neglect the gift beſtowed on them by the moſt high God.' And in another place, ſpeaking of Moſes, he has theſe words: who is clearly of opinion, 'That the heaven and earth were made by the divine Wiſdom preceding: and that then the divine Wiſdom was the foundation of the univerſe.'

(*a*) *Of old called Orpheus's*, etc.] The verſes are theſe:

I ſwear by that firſt word the Father ſpake,
When the foundation of the earth was laid.

They are extant in the Admonition to the Greeks among the works of Julian: as alſo theſe;

I ſpeak to thoſe I ought, be gone, prophane,
Away: but, O Muſaeus, hearken thou,
Thou off-ſpring of the moon; I ſpeak the truth;

contained his doctrines. And Empedocles acknowleged (*a*), that the ſun was not the original light, but the receptacle of light (the ſtorehouſe and vehicle of fire, as the antient Chriſtians expreſs it.) Aratus (*b*), and Catullus (*c*)

Let not vain thoughts, the comfort of thy life
Deſtroy; the divine reaſon ſtrictly view,
And fix it in thy mind to imitate;
Behold the great Creator of the world,
Who's only perfect, and did all things make,
And is in all; though we with mortal eyes
Cannot diſcern him; but he looks on us.

Theſe we find in the Admonition to the Greeks; as alſo in a book concerning the monarchy of the world, in the works of Juſtin Martyr; in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. v. and in the xiiith book of Euſebius's Goſpel Preparation from Ariſtobulus.

(*a*) *And Empedocles acknowleged*, etc.] Of whom Laertius ſays, 'That he affirmed the ſun to be a great heap of fire.' And he that wrote the Opinions of the Philoſophers, has theſe words; 'Empedocles ſaid, that the aether was firſt ſeparated, then the fire, and after that the earth; the ſuperficies of which being compreſſed by its violent motion, the water burſt out; from which the air was exhaled: that the heavens were compoſed of aether, and the ſun of fire.' And chap. 20. Empedocles affirms, 'There are two ſuns, one the original, and the other the apparent.' And Philolaus, as we there alſo read, ſays, 'That the ſun is of the ſame nature as glaſs, receiving its ſplendor from the fire that is in the world, and tranſmitting its light to us.' Anaxagoras, Democritus, Metrodorus, affirmed the ſun to be a certain maſs of fire; as you find it in the ſame place. And Democritus ſhows, that theſe were the moſt antient opinions, as Laertius relates.

(*b*) *Aratus*, etc.] Aratus;

As far as the dire gulph Eridanus,
Under the footſtool of the gods extends.

(*c*) *Catullus*, etc.] Catullus, the interpreter of Callima-

thought the divine reſidence was above the ſtarry orb; in which, Homer ſays, there is a continual light. Thales taught (*a*), from the antient ſchools, that God was the oldeſt of beings, becauſe not begotten; that the world was moſt beautiful, becauſe the workmanſhip of God; that darkneſs was before light, which latter we find in Orpheus's verſes (*b*), and Heſiod (*c*); whence it was, that the nations (*d*) who were

machus, introduces Berenices' Hair, ſpeaking after this manner,

Though in the night the gods upon me tread.

(*a*) *Thales taught*, etc.] As we ſee in Diogenes Laertius; and Herodotus and Leander aſſert him to have been originally a Phoenician.

(*b*) *In Orpheus's verſes*, etc.] In his hymn to Night:

I ſing the Night, parent of men and gods.

(*c*) *And Heſiod*, etc.] Whoſe verſes upon this ſubject are cited above.

(*d*) *The nations who were the moſt tenacious*, etc.] 'The Numidians in Lybia reckon their time not by days, but by nights, ſays Nicolaus Damaſcenus.' And Tacitus affirms of the Germans, 'that they do not, like us, compute the number of the days, but of the nights; ſo they date their decrees and citations; night ſeems to begin the day with them.' See the Speculum Saxonicum, book i. art. 3. 67. and in other places. So likewiſe the learned Lindebrogius, upon the word *night*, in his vocabulary of the German Laws. The neighbouring people of Bohemia and Poland preſerve this cuſtom to this very day, and the Gauls uſed it of old. Caeſar, in his ſixth book of the Gallic Wars, ſays, 'That all their diſtances of time were reckoned, not by the number of days, but of nights.' And Pliny, concerning the Druids, in the ſixteenth book of his Natural Hiſtory, ſays, 'The moon with them began their months and years.' It is a known cuſtom amongſt the Hebrews. Gellius in his third

moſt tenacious of antient cuſtoms, reckoned the time by nights. Anaxagoras affirmed (*a*), that all things were regulated by the ſupreme Mind; Aratus (*b*), that the ſtars were made by God;

book, chap. ii. adds the Athenians, who, in this matter, were the ſcholars of the Phoenicians.

(*a*) *Anaxagoras affirmed*, etc.] His words are quoted above, which are to be found in Laertius, the writer of the opinions of the philoſophers, and others: as are alſo the verſes of Timon concerning his opinion.

(*b*) *Aratus* etc.] In the beginning of his Phaenomena;

Begin with Jupiter, whoſe eſſence is
Ineffable by mortal man, whoſe preſence
Does all things fill; aſſemblies, courts, and marts,
The deep abyſs, and ports are fill'd with him.
We all enjoy him, all his off-spring are,
Whoſe nature is benign to man; who ſtirs
Them up to work, ſhewing the good of life.
'Tis he appoints the time to plow and ſow,
And reap the fruitful harveſt ———
'Twas he that in the heavens fix'd the ſtars,
Allotting each his place to teach the year,
And to declare the fate us men attends;
That all things are by certain laws decreed.
Him therefore let us firſt and laſt appeaſe.
O Father, the great help we mortals have.

That by Jupiter we are here to underſtand God, the true maker of the world, and all things in it, St. Paul ſhews us in the ſeventeenth chapter of the Acts, verſe 28. And we learn from Lactantius, that Ovid ended his Phaenomena with theſe verſes:

Such both in number and in form, did God
Upon the heavens place, and give in charge
To 'nlighten the thick darkneſs of the night.

And Chalcidius to Timaeus: 'To which thing the Hebrews agree, who affirm, that God was the adorner of the world, and appointed the ſun to rule the day, and the

Virgil (*c*), from the Greeks, that life was infuſed into things by the Spirit of God; (*b*) Heſiod, (*c*) Homoon to govern the night; and ſo diſpoſed the reſt of the ſtars, as to limit the times and ſeaſons of the year, and to be ſigns of the productions of things.'

(*a*) *Virgil, from the Greeks,* etc.] In the ſixth book of his Æneids, which Servius ſays was compoſed from many of the antient Greek writings.

At firſt the heav'n and earth and watry ſeas,
The moon's bright orb, and all the glittering ſtars,
Were fed and nouriſh'd by a power divine:
For the whole world is acted by a ſun,
Which throughly penetrates it: whence mankind,
And beaſts and birds have their original;
And monſters in the deep produc'd: the ſeed
Of each, is a divine and heavenly flame.

Which may be explained by thoſe in his Georgics IV.

By ſuch examples taught, and by ſuch marks
Some have affirm'd that bees themſelves partake
Of the celeſtial mind, and breath aetherial,
For God pervades the ſea, and earth, and heavens;
Whence cattle, herds, men, and all kinds of beaſts;
Derive the ſlender breath of fleeting life.

(*b*) *Heſiod,* etc.] In his poem upon Labour and Days:

Then ordered Mulciber, without delay,
To mix the earth and water, and infuſe
A human voice.

(*c*) *Homer,* etc.] Ilias viii.

You all to earth and water muſt return.

For all things return from whence they came. Euripides in his Hipſipyle, as Stobaeus tells us in the title, uſes this argument, for bearing patiently the events of things; which is tranſcribed by Tully in his third book of Tuſculan queſtions:

——— All which in vain, us mortals vex,

mer, and Callimachus (*a*), that man was formed of clay; laſtly, Maximus Tyrius aſſerts (*b*), that it was a conſtant tradition received by all

> Earth muſt return to earth, for fate ordains
> That life, like corn, muſt be cut off, in all.

To the ſame purpoſe Euripides in his Supplicants,

> Permit the dead to be entomb'd in earth,
> From whence we all into this body came;
> And when we die, the ſpirit goes to air,
> To earth the body; for we can poſſeſs
> Life only for a time; the earth demands
> It back again.

All which, you ſee, exactly agree with Moſes, Gen. iii. 19. and Solomon, Eccl. xii. 7.

(*a*) *Callimachus*, etc.] Who in his Scazon calls man, Prometheus' Clay. Of this clay we find mention made in Juvenal and Martial. To which we may add this place of Cenſorinus; 'Democritus the Abderite was of opinion, that men were firſt formed of clay and water; and Epicurus was much of the ſame mind.

(*b*) *Maximus Tyrius*, etc.] In his firſt diſſertation: 'Notwithſtanding the great diſcord, confuſion and debates that are amongſt men; the whole world agree in this one conſtant law and opinion, that God is the ſole king and father of all; but that there are many other gods, who are his ſons, and ſhare in his government. This is affirmed by the Greek and the Barbarian; by him who dwells in the continent, and by him who lives on the ſea-ſhore; by the wiſe and by the fooliſh.' To which may be added thoſe places cited in the ſecond book of War and Peace, chap. xx. 9, 45. And that of Antiſthenes, related by Tully in his firſt book of the Nature of the Gods, 'That there are many vulgar gods, but there is but one natural God.' And Lactantius, book i. chap. 5. adds, from the ſame Antiſthenes; that he is

The maker of the whole world.

So likewiſe Sophocles:

nations, that there was one ſupreme God, the cauſe of all things. And we learn from Joſephus (*a*), Philo (*b*), Tibullus (*c*), Clemens Alexandrinus (*d*), and Lucian (*e*), for I need not mention the Hebrews, that the memory of the ſeven days work was preſerved. not only among the Greeks and Italians, by honouring the ſeventh day; but alſo amongſt the Celtae (*f*) and Indians,

There is really but one God,
The maker of the heaven and earth,
And ſea, and winds.

To which may be added that place of Varro, cited by St. Auſtin, in the fourth book, and chap. 31. of his City of God.

(*a*) *From Joſephus*, etc.] Againſt Appion, about the end of the ſecond book, where he ſays, there is no city, Greek or Barbarian, in which the cuſtom of reſting on the ſeventh day is not preſerved, as it is amongſt the Jews.

(*b*) *Philo*, etc.] Concerning the ſeventh day; 'It is a feſtival celebrated, not only in one city or country, but throughout the whole world.'

(*c*) *Tibullus*, etc.] 'The ſeventh day is ſacred to the Jews.'

(*d*) *Clem. Alexandrinus*, etc.] Who, in his Strom. v. quotes, out of Heſiod, 'that the ſeventh day was ſacred.' And the like out of Homer and Callimachus. To which may be ſubjoined, what Euſebius has taken out of Ariſtobulus, book xiii. ch. 12. Theophilus Antiochenus, book xi. to Autolichus; 'Concerning the the ſeventh day, which is diſtinguiſhed by all men.' And Suetonius, in his Tiberius xxxii. 'Diogenes the grammarian uſes to diſpute at Rhodes upon the Sabbath day.' (The ſeventh day of the month ought not to be confounded with the laſt day of the week. See what John Selden has remarked upon this ſubject, in his book of the Laws of Nature and Nations, book iii. chap. 17. Le Clerc.)

(*e*) *Lucian*, etc.] Who tells us in his Paralogiſt, 'That boys were uſed to play on the ſeventh day.'

(*f*) *Amongſt the Celtae*, etc.]

who all meaſured the time by weeks; as we learn from Philoſtratus (*a*), Dion Caſſius (*b*), and Juſtin Martyr; and alſo the moſt antient names (*c*) of the days. The Egyptians tell us, that at firſt men led their lives in great ſimplicity (*d*), their bodies being naked (*e*); whence aroſe the poets fiction of the golden age, famous among the In-

As is evident by the names of the days among the different nations of the Celtae, viz. Germans, Gauls, and Britons. Helmoldus tells us the ſame of the Sclavonians, book i. chap. 48.

(*a*) *Philoſtratus*, etc.] Book iii. chap 13. ſpeaking of the Indians.

(*b*) *Dion Caſſius*, etc.] Book xxxiii. 'The day called Saturn's.' Where he adds, that the cuſtom of computing the time by weeks, was derived from the Egyptians to all mankind. And that this was not a new, but a very antient cuſtom, Herodotus tells us in his ſecond book: to which may be added Iſidore concerning the Romans, book v. chap. 30, 32.

(*c*) *The moſt antient names*, etc.] See the Oracle, and Orpheus's verſes in Scaliger's Prolegomena to his emendation of times. (I ſuſpect that the foundation of weeks was rather from the ſeven planets, than from the creation of the world in ſeven days. Le Clerc.)

(*d*) *In great ſimplicity*, etc.] See what we have ſaid of this matter, book ii. ch. 1. §. 11. concerning the Right of War, and the notes belonging to it.

(*e*) *Their bodies being naked*, etc.] Whoſe opinion Diodorus Siculus thus relates, 'The firſt men lived very hardy, before the conveniencies of life were found out; being accuſtomed to go naked and wanting dwellings and fires; and being wholly ignorant of the food of civilized nations.' And Plato, in his Politics: 'God their governor fed them, being their keeper; as man, who is a more divine creature, feeds the inferior creature.' And a little after: 'They fed naked and without garments in the open air.' And Dicearchus the Peripatetic, cited both by Porphyry, in his fourth book againſt Eating living Creatures; and to the ſame ſenſe by Varro, concerning Country Affairs:

dians, as Strabo remarks (*a*). Maimonides (*b*) takes notice, that the hiſtory of Adam (*c*), of Eve, of the tree, and of the ſerpent, was extant amongſt the idolatrous Indians in his time: and

'The antients, who were neareſt to the gods, were of an excellent diſpoſition, and led ſo good lives, that they were called a golden race.'

(*a*) *As Strabo remarks*, etc.] Book xv. where he brings in Calanus the Indian ſpeaking thus: 'Of old we met every where with barley, wheat and meal, as we do now-a-days with duſt. The fountains flowed, ſome with water, ſome with milk; and likewiſe ſome with honey, ſome with wine, and ſome with oil: but men, through fulneſs and plenty, fell into wickedneſs; which condition Jupiter abhorring, altered the ſtate of things, and ordered them a life of labour.'

(*b*) *Maimonides*, etc.] In his Guide to the Doubting, part iii. chap. 29.

(*c*) *The hiſtory of Adam*, etc.] In thoſe places which Philo Biblius has tranſlated out of Sanchuniathon: The Greek word πρωτόγονος, *Firſt-born*, is the ſame with the Hebrew אדם *Adam*; and the Greek word αἰων, *age*, is the ſame with the Hebrew word חוה *Chavah*, *Eve*. The firſt men found out the fruit of trees. And in the moſt antient Greek Myſteries, they cried out Ευα, *Eva*, and at the ſame time ſhewed a Serpent. Which is mentioned by Heſychius, Clemens in his Exhortations, and Plutarch in the life of Alexander. Chalcidius to Timaeus, has theſe words: 'That, as Moſes ſays, God forbad the firſt man to eat the fruit of thoſe trees, by which the knowlege of good and evil ſhould ſteal into their minds.' And in another place: 'To this the Hebrews agree, when they ſay, that God gave to man a ſoul by a divine breath, which they call reaſon, or a rational ſoul; but to dumb creatures, and wild beaſts of the foreſt, one void of reaſon: the living creatures and beaſts being, by the command of God, ſcattered over the face of the earth; amongſt which was that ſerpent, who, by his evil perſuaſions, deceived the firſt of mankind.'

there are many witneſſes in our age (*a*), who teſtify, that the ſame is ſtill to be found amongſt the heathens dwelling in Peru, and the Phillippine iſlands, people belonging to the ſame India; the name of Adam amongſt the Brachmans; and that it is reckoned ſix thouſand (*b*) years ſince the creation of the world, by thoſe of Siam. Beroſus (*c*) in his hiſtory of Chaldea, Manethos in his of Egypt, Hierom in his of Phoenicia, Heſtiaeus, Hecataeus, Hillanicus in theirs of Greece; and Heſiod among the poets; all aſſert, that the lives of thoſe who deſcended from the firſt men, were almoſt a thouſand years in length; which is the leſs incredible, becauſe the hiſtorians of many nations, (particularly Pauſanias (*d*) and

(*a*) *Witneſſes in our age*, etc.] See amongſt others Ferdinand Mendeſius de Pinto.

(*b*) *Six thouſand years*, etc.] What Simplicius relates out of Porphyry, Comment xvi. upon book ii. concerning the Heavens, agrees exactly with this number; that the obſervations collected at Babylon, which Caliſthenes ſent to Ariſtotle, were to that time ɔlɔ Iɔ ɔɔɔɔıı. which was not far from the time of the deluge.

(*c*) *Beroſus in his hiſtory*, etc.] Joſephus in the firſt book, chap. 4. of his ancient hiſtory, quotes the teſtimony of all theſe writers whoſe books were extant in his time; and beſides theſe, Acuſilaus, Ephonus, and Nicolaus Damaſcaenus. Servius in his notes upon the 8th book of Virgil's Æneids, remarks, that the people of Arcadia lived to three hundred years.

(*d*) *Pauſanias*, etc.] In his Laconics, he mentions the bones of men, of a more than ordinary bigneſs, which were ſhewn in the temple of Æſculapius at the city of Aſopus: and in the firſt of his Eliacs, of a bone taken out of the ſea, which aforetime was kept at Piſo, and thought to been one of Pelops's.

Philoſtratus (*a*) amongſt the Greeks, and Pliny (*b*) amongſt the Romans) relate, that men's (*c*) bodies, upon opening their ſepulchres, were

(*a*) *Philoſtratus*, etc.] In the beginning of his Heroics, he ſays, that many bodies of giants were diſcovered in Pallene, by ſhowers of rain and earthquakes.

(*b*) *Pliny*, etc.] Book vii. chap. 16. 'Upon the burſting of a mountain in Crete by an earthquake, there was found a body ſtanding upright, which was reported by ſome to have been the body of Orion, by others the body of Eetion. Oreſtes's body, when it was commanded by the oracle to be digged up, is reported to have been ſeven cubits long. And almoſt a thouſand years ago, the poet Homer continually complained, that men's bodies were leſs than of old.' And Solinus, chap. i. 'Were not all who were born in that age, leſs than their parents? And the ſtory of Oreſtes's funeral teſtifies the bigneſs of the antients, whoſe bones, when they were digged up, in the fifty-eighth olympiad at Tegea, by the advice of the oracle, are related to have been ſeven cubits in length. And other writings, which give a credible relation of antient matters, affirm this, that in the war of Crete, when the rivers had been ſo high as to overflow and break down their banks; after the flood was abated, upon the cleaving of the earth, there was found a human body of three and thirty foot long; which L. Flaccus the legate, and Metellus himſelf, being very deſirous of ſeeing, were much ſurprized, to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, what they did not believe when they heard.' See Auſtin's fifteenth book, chap. 11. of the City of God, concerning the cheek tooth of a man, which he himſelf ſaw.

(*a*) *Men's bodies*, etc.] Joſephus, book v. chap. 2. of his Antient Hiſtory: 'There remains, to this day, ſome of the race of the giants, who, by reaſon of the bulk and figure of their bodies, ſo different from other men, are wonderful to ſee or hear of: their bones are now ſhewn, far exceeding the belief of the vulgar.' Gabinius, in his Hiſtory of Mauritania, ſaid, that Antæus's bones were found by Sertorius, which, joined together, were

found to be much larger in old time. And Catullus (*a*), after many of the Greeks, relates, that divine viſions were made to men before their great and manifold crimes did, as it were, hin-

ſixty cubits long. Phlegon Trallianus, in his ninth chapter of Wonders, mentions the digging up of the head of Ida, which was three times as big as that of an ordinary woman. And he adds alſo, that there were many bodies found in Dalmatia, whoſe arms exceeded ſixteen cubits. And the ſame man relates, out of Theopompus, that there was found in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, a heap of human bones twenty-four cubits in length. And there is extant a book of the ſame Phlegon, concerning Long Life, which is worth reading. (That in many places of old time, as at the preſent, there were men of a very large ſtature, or ſuch as exceeded others, ſome few feet, is not very hard to believe; but that they ſhould all of them have been bigger, I can no more believe, than that the trees were taller, or the channels of the rivers deeper. There is the ſame proportion between all theſe, and things of the like kind now, as there was formerly, they anſwering to one another, ſo that there is no reaſon to think they have undergone any change. See Theodore Rickius's Oration about giants. Le Clerc.)

(*a*) *Catullus*, etc.] In his Epithalamium on Peleus and Thetis:

But when the earth was ſtain'd with wickedneſs
And luſt; and juſtice fled from every breaſt;
Then brethren vilely ſhed each other's blood,
And parents ceas'd to mourn their childrens death.
The father wiſh'd the funeral of his ſon;
The ſon to enjoy the father's relick wiſh'd:
The impious mother yielding to the child,
Fear'd not to ſtain the temple of the gods,
Thus right and wrong by furious paſſion mix'd,
Drove from us the divine propitious mind.

der God and those spirits that attend him (*a*), from holding any correspondence with men. We almost every where, in the Greek (*b*) and Latin historians (*c*), meet with the savage life of the giants, mentioned by Moses. And it is very remarkable concerning the deluge, that the memory of almost all nations ends in the history of it, even those nations which were unknown till our forefathers discovered them: so that Varro (*d*) calls

(*a*) *Those spirits that attend him*, etc.] Of this, see those excellent things said by Plutarch in his Isis; Maximus Tyrius in his first and sixteenth Dissertation, and Julian's Hymn to the Sun. The name of Angels is used, when they treat of this matter, not only by the Greek interpreters of the old testament, but also by Labeus, Aristides, Porphyry, Jamblicus, Chalcidius, and by Hostanes, who was older than any of them, quoted by Minutius: the forementioned Chalcidius relates an assertion of Heraclitus, that such as deserved it, were forwarned by the instruction of the divine powers.

(*b*) *In the Greek*, etc.] Homer, Iliad 9. and Hesiod in his Labours. To this may be referred the Wars of the Gods, mentioned by Plato in his second Republic; and those distinct and separate governments, taken notice of by the same Plato, in his third book of Laws.

(*c*) *Latin historians*, etc.] See the first book of Ovid's Metamorph. and the fourth book of Lucan, and Seneca's third book of Natural Questions, quest. 30. where he says concerning the deluge: 'That the beasts also perished, into whose nature men were degenerated.'

(*d*) *So that Varro calls*, etc.] Thus Censorinus: 'Now I come to treat of that space of time which Varro calls historical. For he makes three distinctions of time: the first from the creation of man to the first flood, which, because we are ignorant of it, is called the unknown: the second, from the first flood to the first olympiad; which is called the fabulous, because of the many fabulous stories related in it: the third, from

all that the unknown time. And all thoſe things which we read in the poets wrapped up in fables, a liberty they allow themſelves, are delivered by the ancient writers according to truth and reality, that is, agreeable to Moſes; as you may ſee in Beroſus's (*a*) hiſtory of Chaldea, (*b*) Aby-

the firſt olympiad to our time, which is called the hiſtorical, becauſe the things done in it are related in a true hiſtory.' The time which Varro calls *unknown*, the Hebrew Rabbins call *void*. Philo in his book of the Eternity of the World, remarks, that the ſhells found on the mountains are a ſign of the univerſal deluge.

(*a*) *Beroſus's hiſtory*, etc.] Concerning whom Joſephus ſays thus, in his firſt book againſt Appion: 'This Beroſus, following the moſt antient writings, relates, in the ſame manner as Moſes, the hiſtory of the flood, the deſtruction of mankind, the ark or cheſt in which Noah the father of mankind, was preſerved, by its reſting on the top of the mountains of Armenia.' After having related the hiſtory of the deluge, Beroſus adds theſe words, which we find in the ſame Joſephus, book I. and chap. iv. of his antient hiſtory: 'It is reported that part of the ſhip now remains in Armenia, the on Gordyaean mountains, and that ſome bring pitch from thence, which they uſe for a charm.'

(*b*) *Abydenus's of Aſſyria*, etc.] Euſebius has preſerved the place in the ninth book of his Preparation, chap. 12. and Cyril in his firſt book againſt Julian. 'After whom reigned many others, and then Siſithrus, to whom Saturn ſignified there ſhould be an abundance of rain on the fifteenth day of the month Deſius, and commanded him to lay up all his writings in Heliopolis, a city of the Sipparians; which, when Siſithrus had done, he ſailed immediately into Armenia, and found it true as the god had declared to him. On the third day after the waters abated, he ſent out birds to try if the water was gone off any part of the earth; but they finding a vaſt ſea, and having no where to reſt, returned back to Siſithrus: in the ſame manner did others: and a-

gain the third time, when their wings were daubed with mud. Then the gods took him from among men; and the ſhip came into Armenia, the wood of which the people there uſe for a charm.' Syſithrus, and Ogyges, and Deucalion, are all names ſignifying the ſame thing in other languages, as Noah does in the Hebrew, in which Moſes wrote; who ſo expreſſed proper names, that the Hebrews might underſtand the meaning of them: for inſtance, Alexander the hiſtorian, writing Iſaac in Greek, calls him Γελωτα, *Laughter*, as we learn from Euſebius; and many ſuch like, we meet with among the hiſtorians; as in Philo concerning rewards and puniſhments; 'The Greeks call him *Deucalion*, the Chaldeans *Noah*, in whoſe time the great flood happened.' It is the tradition of the Egyptians, as Diodorus teſtifies in his firſt book, that the univerſal deluge was that of Deucalion. Pliny ſays it reached as far as Italy. Book iii. chap. 14. But to return to the tranſlation of names into other languages, there is a remarkable place in Plato's Critias concerning it: 'Upon the entrance of this diſcourſe, it may be neceſſary, ſays he, to premiſe the reaſon, leſt you be ſurprized when you hear the names of Barbarians in Greek. When Solon put this relation into verſe, he enquired into the ſignification of the names, and found, that the firſt Egyptians, who wrote of theſe matters, tranſlated them into their own language; and he likewiſe ſearching out their true meaning, turned them into our language.' The words of Abydenus agree with thoſe of Alexander the hiſtorian, which Cyril has preſerved in his forementioned firſt book againſt Julian; 'After the death of Otiartes, his ſon Xiſuthrus reigned eighteen years; in whoſe time, they ſay, the great deluge was. It is reported, that Xiſuthrus was preſerved by Saturn's foretelling him what was to come; and that it was convenient for him to build an ark, that birds and creeping things, and beaſts might ſail with him in it.' The moſt high God is named by the Aſſyrians, and other nations, from that particular ſtar of the ſeven, to uſe Tacitus's words, by which mankind are governed, which is moved in the higheſt orb, and with the greateſt force: or certainly the Syriac word,

denus's of Aſſyria, who mentions the dove (*a*) that was ſent out of the ark; and in Plutarch from the Greeks; and in Lucian (*b*), who ſays,

אֵיל *Il*, which ſignifies *God*, was therefore tranſlated Κρόνος, *Kronos*, by the Greek interpreters, becauſe he was called אֵיל *Il* by the Syrians. Philo Biblius, the interpreter of Sanchuniathon, hath theſe words; *Ilus, who is called Saturn.* He is quoted by Euſebius: in whom it immediately follows from the ſame Philo, *That Kronos was the ſame the Phœnicians call Iſrael;* but the miſtake was in the tranſcriber, who put Ἰσραηλ, *Iſrael*, for Ἰλ, *Il*; which many times, amongſt the Greek Chriſtians, is the contraction of Ἰσράηλ; whereas Ἴλ is, as we have obſerved, what the Syrians call אֵיל *Il*, and the Hebrew אֵל *El*. [It ought not to be overlooked, that in this hiſtory, Deucalion, who was the ſame perſon as Noah, is called ἀνηρ ϖυῤῥας, i. e. אִישׁ אדמה *a man of the earth*, that is, *a husbandman*. See my notes upon Gen. ix. 20. Le Clerc.]

(*a*) *Who mentions the dove*, etc.] In his book where he enquires which have moſt cunning, water or land animals: 'They ſay Deucalion's dove, which he ſent out of the ark, diſcovered at its return, that the ſtorms were abated, and the heavens clear.' It is to be obſerved, both in this place of Plutarch, and in that of Alexander the hiſtorian, as well as in the books of Nicolaus Damaſcenus, and the writers made uſe of by Theophilus Antiochenus in his third book, that the Greek word λάρναξ, *larnax*, anſwers to the Hebrew word תבה *Tebah*, and ſo Joſephus tranſlates it.

(*b*) *And in Lucian*, etc.] In his book concerning the Goddeſs of Syria, where, having begun to treat of the very antient temple of Hierapolis, he adds: 'They ſay this temple was founded by Deucalion the Scythian, that Deucalion, in whoſe days the flood of water happened. I have heard in Greece the ſtory of this Deucalion from the Greeks themſelves, which is thus: The preſent generation of men is not the original one, for all that generation periſhed; and the men which now are, came from a ſecond ſtock, the whole multitude of them deſcending

that in Hierapolis of Syria, there was remaining a moſt antient hiſtory of the ark, and of the preſerving a few not only of mankind, but alſo of other living creatures. The ſame hiſtory was

from Deucalion. Now, concerning the firſt race of men, they relate thus: They were very obſtinate, and did very wicked things; and had no regard to oaths, had no hoſpitality or charity in them; upon which account many calamities befel them. For, on a ſudden the earth ſent forth abundance of water, great ſhowers of rain fell, the rivers overflowed exceedingly, and the ſea overſpread the earth, ſo that all was turned into water, and every man periſhed; Deucalion was only ſaved alive, to raiſe up another generation, becauſe of his prudence and piety. And he was preſerved in this manner; he and his wives and his children entered into a large ark, which he had prepared; and after them went in bears, and horſes, and lions, and ſerpents, and all other kinds of living creatures that feed upon the earth, two and two; he received them all in, neither did they hurt him, but were very familiar with him, by a divine influence. Thus they ſailed in the ſame ark, as long as the water remained on the earth: this is the account the Greeks give of Deucalion. Now, concerning what happened afterwards; there was a ſtrange ſtory related by the inhabitants of Hierapolis, of a great hole in the earth, in that country, which received all the water; after which Deucalion built an altar, and reared a temple to Juno, over the hole. I ſaw the hole myſelf; it is but a ſmall one, under the temple; whether it was larger formerly, I know not; I am ſure this which I ſaw was but ſmall. To preſerve this ſtory, they perform this ceremony; twice every year water is brought from the ſea into the temple; and not only the prieſts, but all the people of Syria and Arabia fetch it; many go even from the river Euphrates, as far as the ſea to fetch water, which they pour out in the temple, and it goes into the hole, which, though it be but ſmall, holds a vaſt quantity

extant alſo in Molo (*a*), and in Nicolaus Damaſcenus (*b*); which latter names the ark, which we all find in the hiſtory of Deucalion in Apollodorus: and many Spaniards affirm, that in ſeveral parts of America (*c*), as Cuba, Mechoacana, Nicaraga, is preſerved the memory of the deluge, the ſaving alive of animals, eſpecially the raven and dove; and the deluge itſelf in that part called Golden Caſtile. That remark of Pliny's (*d*)

of water: when they do this, they ſay it was a rite inſtituted by Deucalion, in memory of that calamity, and his preſervation. This is the antient ſtory of this temple.'

(*a*) *In Molo*, etc.] Euſebius relates his words in his ninth book of the Goſpel Preparation, chap. 19. 'At the deluge, the man and his children that eſcaped, came out of Armenia, being driven from his own country by the inhabitants, and having paſſed through the country between, went into the mountainous part of Syria, which was then uninhabited.'

(*b*) *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, etc.] Joſephus gives us his words, out of the ninty-ſixth book of his Univerſal Hiſtory, in the forecited place; 'There is above the city Minyas, (which Strabo and Pliny call Milyas) a huge mountain in Armenia, called Batis, on which they ſay a great many were ſaved from the flood, particularly one who was carried to the top of it by an ark; the reliques of the wood of which was preſerved a great while: I believe it was the ſame man that Moſes the lawgiver of the Jews mentions in his hiſtory.' To theſe writers we may add Jerom the Egyptian, who wrote the affairs of Phoenicia and Mnaſeas, mentioned by Joſephus. And perhaps Eupolemus, which Euſebius quotes out of Alexander the hiſtorian, in his Goſpel Preparation, book ix. chap. 17.

(*c*) *Parts of America*, etc.] See Joſephus Acoſta, and Antonius Herrera.

(*d*) *That remark of Pliny's*, etc.] Book v. chap. 13. Mela and Solinus agree with Pliny. Compare it with that

that Joppa was built before the flood, diſcovers what part of the earth men inhabited before the flood. The place where the ark reſted after the deluge on the Gordyaean mountains (*a*), is evident from the conſtant tradition of the Armenians from all paſt ages down to this very day (*b*). Japhet (*c*), the father of the Europeans, and from him, Jon, or, as they formerly pronounced it,

which we have quoted out of Abydenus.

(*a*) *On the Gordyaean mountains*, etc.] Which Moſes calls *Ararath*, the Chaldean interpreters tranſlate it *Kardu*; Joſephus, *Gordiaean*; Cortius, *Cordaean*; Strabo writes it *Gordiaean*, book xvi. and Pliny, book vi. and Ptolemaeus. (Theſe, and what follows in relation to the ſacred geography and the founders of nations, ſince theſe of Grotius were publiſhed, are with great pains, and much more accuracy ſearched into, by Sam. Bochart, in his Sacred Geography, which add weight to Grotius's Arguments. Le Clerc.)

(*b*) *To this very day*, etc.] Theophilus Antiochenus ſays, in this third book, that the reliques of the ark were ſhewn in his time. And Epiphanius againſt the Nazarites; 'The reliques of Noah's ark are ſhewn at this time, in the region of the Cordiaeans.' And Chryſoſtom in his Oration of Perfect Love. And Iſidore, book xiv. chap. 8. of his Antiquities. 'Ararath, a mountain in Armenia, on which hiſtories teſtify the ark reſted after the deluge; where at this day are to be ſeen ſome marks of the wood.' We may add the words out of Haiton the Armenian, chap. 9. 'There is a mountain in Armenia, higher than any other in the whole world, which is commonly called Ararath, on the top of which mountain the ark firſt reſted after the deluge.' See the Nubian Geographer, and Benjamin's Itinerary.

(*c*) *Japhet*, etc.] It is the very ſame word יפת *Japheth*; for the ſame letter פ is by ſome pronounced like π *p*, by others φ *ph*; and the like difference is now preſerved among the Germans and Dutch. Jerom, upon Daniel, has obſerved this of the Hebrew letter.

Javon (*a*) of the Greeks, and Hammon (*b*) of the Africans, are names to be ſeen in Moſes; and Joſephus (*c*), and others, obſerve the like footſteps

(*a*) *Javon*, etc.] For ἰαόνες, *iaones*, is often found amongſt the antient writers. The Perſian in Ariſtophanes's play, called Acharnenſes, pronounces it ἰασναν, *iaonan*. Now, it was a very antient cuſtom to put a *digamma* between two vowels, which afterwards began to be wrote by a *V*, formerly thus *F*. In like manner that which was ἀυῶς *auos*, is now ἀὼς *aos*, and ἠὼς *eos*, ταωὼς *taos*, ταὼς *taos*, a peacock; τὰς Ἕλληνας καλυσιν ἰαῦνας, the Greeks are called *iaunas*, Suidas.

(*b*) *Hammon*, etc.] For the Greeks ſometimes render the Hebrew letter ח *Cheth* by an aſpirate, and ſometimes omit it; as חצר-מות *Chatzarmuth*, Ἀδραμυττος *Adramyttos*, or Ἁδράμυττος *Hadramyttos*: חכמות *Chachmoth*, ἀχμοιθ *Achmuth* in Irenaeus and others; חכרה *Chabrah*, a *companion*, by the antient Greeks ἁβρα *abra*; חיה *Chajah*, αἰὼν *aion*, an age. חנה *Hanno* or *Anno*; חני-בעל *Hannibal* or *Annibal*, חצר-בעל *Haſdrubal* or *Aſdrubal*; חשים *Caſhim*, ἄξυμιται *axoumitai*; for ων *on* is a Greek ending. This perſon is transformed not only by the Lybians, but alſo by many other nations, into the ſtar Jupiter, as a god, Lucan, book ix.

Jupiter Ammon is the only god
Amongſt the happy Arabs, and amongſt
The Indians and Æthiopians.

And the ſacred ſcripture puts Egypt amongſt them, Pſalm lxxviii. 51. cv. 23, 27. cvi. 22. Jerom, in his Hebrew Traditions on Geneſis, has theſe words, 'From whom, Egypt, at this very day, is called the country of Ham, in the Egyptian language.'

(*c*) *And Joſephus and others*, etc.] He ſays Γομαρεῖς *Gomareis*, the *Galatians*, is derived from גמר *Gomar*. where Pliny's town Comara is. The people of Comara we find in the firſt book of Mela. The Scythians are derived from מגוג *Magog*, by whom the Scythopolis in Syria, was built, and the other city Magog; Pliny, book v. chap. 23. which is

in the names of other places and nations. And

called by others Hierapolis and Bambyce. It is evident that the Medes are derived from מדי *Medi;* and, as we have already obſerved, Javones, Jaones, Jones from יון *Javen*. Joſephus ſays, the Iberians in Aſia come from תבל *Thebal*, in the neighbourhood of whom Ptolemy places the city of Thabal, as preſerving the marks of its ancient original. The city Mazaca, mentioned by him, comes from משך *Maſach*, which we find in Strabo, book xii. and in Pliny, book vi. 3. and in Ammianus Marcellinus, book xx. Add to this the Moſchi mentioned by Strabo, book xi. and in the firſt and third of Mela, whom Pliny calls Moſcheni, book vi. chap. 9. and we find in them and Pliny, the Moſchican mountains. Joſephus and others agree, that the Thracians were derived from תירס *Tiras*, and the word itſelf ſhews it; eſpecially if we obſerve, that the Greek letter ξ *x* at firſt anſwered to the Syriac letter ס *ſ*, as the place of it ſhews. Concerning thoſe that are derived from אשכנז *Aſchanaz*, the place is corrupt in Joſephus; but, without doubt, Aſcania, a part of Phrygia, and Myſia, mentioned in Homer, comes from thence; concerning which, ſee Strabo, l. xii. and Pliny, l. v. c. 32. The Aſcanian lake, and the river flowing from it, we find in Strabo, book xiv. and in Pliny's forecited fifth book, ch. 32. The Aſcanian harbour is in Pliny, book v. ch. 30. and the Aſcanian iſlands alſo, book iv. ch. 12. and book v. ch. 31. Joſephus ſays, the Paphlagonians are derived from ריפת *Riphath*, by ſome called Riphataeans, where Mela in his firſt book puts the Riphacians. The ſame Joſephus tells us, that αἰολεῖς *aioleis* come from אלישה *Aliſhah;* and the Jeruſalem Paraphraſt agrees with him, in naming the Greeks, Æolians; putting the part for the whole: nor is it much unlike Hella, the name of the country. The ſame Joſephus alſo ſays, that the Cicilians are derived from תרשיש *Tarſhiſh*, and proves it from the city Tarſus; for it happens in many places, that the names of the people are derived from the names of cities. We have before hinted, that Κίττιον *Kittion*, is derived from כתים *Chitim*.

which of the poets is it, in which we do not find

The Æthiopians are called Chuſaeans by themſelves and their neighbours, from כוש *Cuſh*, now; as Joſephus obſerved they were in his time; from whence there is a river ſo called by Ptolemy; and in the Arabian geographer, there are two cities, which retain the ſame name. So likewiſe Μισὰρ in Philo Biblius is derived from מצרים *Mitzraim*; thoſe which the Greeks call Egyptians, being called by themſelves and their neighbours *Miſori*; and the name of one of their months is Μεσιρὶ *Meſiri*. Cedrenus calls the country itſelf Μίσρα, and Joſephus rightly conjectures, that the river in Mauritania is derived from פוט *Phut*. Pliny mentions the ſame river, book v. ch. 1. 'Phut, and the neighbouring Phutenſian country, is ſo called to this day,' ſays Jerom, in his Hebrew Traditions on Geneſis. It is not far from Feſa, the name remaining even now. The כנען *Chenaan* in Moſes, is contracted by Sanchunathion, and from him by Philo Biblius, into Χνᾶ *Chna*, you will find it in Euſebius's Preparation, book i. chap. 10. and the country is called ſo. Stephanus, of Cities, ſays, 'Chna was ſo called by the Phoenicians.' And St. Auſtin, in his book of Expoſitions on the epiſtle to the Romans, ſays, in his time, if the country people that lived at Hippo were aſked who they were, they anſwered Canaanites. And in that place of Eupolemus, cited by Euſebius, Prep. xi. 17. the Canaanites are called Meſtraimites. Ptolemy's Regema in Arabia Felix is derived from רעמה *Ramaah*, by changing ע into γ *g*, as in Gomorrah, and other words. Joſephus deduces the Sabins from סבא *Saba*, a known nation, whoſe chief city Strabo ſays, book xvi. was Saba; where Joſephus places the Sabateni, from סבתה *Sabatah*, there Pliny places the city Sobotale, book vi. c. 28. The word להבים *Lehabim*, is not much different from the name of Lybians; nor the word נפתחים *Nephathim*, from Nepata, a city of Ethiopia, mentioned by Pliny, book vi. chap. 29. Nor Ptolemy's Nepata; or the Pharuſi in Pliny, book v. chap. 8. from פתרסים *Phatſtraſim*, the ſame as Ptolemy's Phauruſians in Ethiopia. The city Sidon, famous in all

poets and hiſtorians, comes from צידן *Tzidon*. And Ptolemy's town Goraſa, from גרגשי *Gergaſhi;* and Arca, a city of the Phoenicians, mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny, book v. ch. 18. from ערקי *Arki*. And Aradus, an iſland mentioned in Strabo, book xvi. and Pliny, book v. chap. 20. and Ptolemy in Syria, from ארודי *Arodi;* and Amathus of Arabia, mentioned by Herodotus in his Euterpe and Thalia, from חמתי *Hamathi;* and the Elymites, neighbours to the Medes, from עילם *Eelim*, mentioned by Strabo, book xvi. Pliny, book v. ch. 26. and Livy, book xxxvii. Their deſcendents in Phrygia are called Elymites by Athenaeus, book iv. Every one knows, that the Aſſyrians are derived from אשור *Aſſur*, as the Lydians are from לוד *Lud;* from whence comes the Latin word *Ludi*. Thoſe which, by the Greeks, are called Syrians, from the city צור *Tzur*, are called Aramites to this day, from ארם *Aram:* for צ *tz*, is ſometimes tranſlated ת *t*, and ſometimes ס *ſ;* whence the city צור *Tzur*, which the Greeks call Tyre, is, by Ennius, called Sarra, and by others Sina and Tina. Strabo, book xvi. towards the end: 'The poet mentions the Arimites, whom Poſſidonius would have us to underſtand, not to be any part of Syria, or Cilicia, or any other country, but Syria itſelf.' And again, book xiii. 'Some mean Syrians by Arimites, whom they now call Aramites.' And in the firſt book, 'For thoſe we call Syrians, are by themſelves called Aramites.' The country Auſanitis, mentioned by the ſeventy in Job, is derived from הוץ *Hutz*. Ariſtaeus calls it Auſitis. And the city Cholla, placed by Ptolemy in Syria, from חול *Chol;* and the city Gindarus in Ptolmy, from גבר *Geber;* and the Gindaren people in Pliny, book v. ch. 23. in Coelo-Syriae. And the mountain Maſius, not far from Niſibus, mentioned by Strabo, book xi. and Ptolemy in Meſopotamia, is derived from מש *Maſh*. The names יקטן *Joktan*, and חצרמות *Hatzoramuth*, and חולן *Holan*, are repreſented by the Arabian geographers, under the names of Balſatjaktan, Hadramuth, and Chaulan, as the learned Capell obſerves. The river Ophar, and the people called Opharites, near Moeotis, Pliny, book vi. 7. if I miſtake not, retain the name

אופר *Ophar;* and thoſe cities, which Moſes mentions in this place, appear to be the moſt antient, by comparing of authors. Every one knows from whence Babylon is derived. ארך *Arach* is Aracca, placed by Ptolemy in Suſiana; from whence come the Aracaean fields, in Tibullus, as the famous Salmaſius, a man of vaſt reading, obſerves. Acabene, a corruption of Acadene, is derived from אכד *Achad*, as is probably conjectured by Franciſcus Junius, a diligent interpreter of ſcripture, who has obſerved many of thoſe things we have been ſpeaking of. כלנה *Chalnah* is the town Cauniſus on the river Euphrates, whoſe name Ammianus tells us in his twenty-third book, continued to his time. The land שנער *Senaar*, is the Babylonian Sennaas, in Haeſtieus Mileſus, which place Joſephus has preſerved in his antient hiſtory, book i. chap. 7. and in his Chronicon; as has Euſebius in his Preparation. He wrote the affairs of Phoenicia; whom alſo Stephens had read. Again, ע being turned into γ *g*, Ptolemy from hence calls the mountain Singarus in Meſopotamia. And Pliny mentions the town Singara, book v. chap. 24. and hence the Singaranaean country in Sextus Rufus. נינוה *Nineveh*, is undoubtedly the Ninos of the Greeks contracted; thus in Sardanapalus's epitaph;

I who great Ninus rul'd, am now but duſt.

The ſame name we find in Theognis and Strabo, book xvi. and Pliny, book xi. ch. 13. whoſe words are theſe: 'Ninus was built upon the river Tygris, towards the weſt, a beautiful city to behold.' Lucan, book iii. 'Happy Ninus, as fame goes.' The country Calachena has its name from the principal city כלה *Chala:* Strab, book xi. and afterwards, in the beginning of book xvi. רסן *Reſin* is Reſaina in Amianus, book xxiii. Sidon every one knows. עזה *Azzah* is without doubt rendered Gaza in Paleſtine, by changing, as before, the letter ע into γ *g:* it is mentioned by Strabo, book xvi. and Mela, book i. who calls it a large and well fortified town; and Pliny, book xv. chap 13. and book vi. c. 28. and elſewhere. ספרח *Sephirah*, is Heliopolis, a city of the Sipparians, in that place of Abydenus, now quot-

mention made of the attempt (*a*) to climb

ed. Sippara is, by Ptolemy, placed in Meſopotamia. אור *Ur*, is the caſtle Ur, mentioned by Ammianus, book xxv. חרן *Caran*, is Cara, famous for the ſlaughter of the Craſſi.

(*a*) *The attempt to climb the heavens*, etc.] See Homer, Odyſ. xi. and Ovid's Met. book i.

The giants, by report, would heaven have ſtorm'd.

See alſo Virgil's firſt Georgic, and Lucan, book vii. It is a frequent way of ſpeaking amongſt all nations, to call thoſe things which are raiſed above the common height, *things reaching to heaven*, as we often find in Homer, and Deut. i. 29. and ix. 1. Joſephus quotes one of the Sibyls, I know not which, concerning the unaccountable building of that tower; the words are theſe: 'When all men ſpoke the ſame language, ſome of them build a vaſt high tower, as if they would aſcend up into heaven; but the gods ſent a wind, and overthrew the tower, and aſſigned to each a particular language, and from hence the city Babylon was ſo called.' And Euſebius, in his Preparation, book ix. chap. 14. Cyril, book i. againſt Julian, quotes theſe words out of Abydenus: 'Some ſay, that firſt men, who ſprang out of the earth, grew proud upon their great ſtrength and bulk, and boaſted that they could do more than the gods, and attempted to build a tower, where Babylon now ſtands; but when it came nigh the heavens, it was overthrown upon them by the gods, with the help of the winds; and the ruins are called Babylon. Men, till then, had but one language, but the gods divided it, and then began the war betwixt Saturn and Titan.' It is a falſe tradition of the Greeks, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, as Beroſus tells us in his Chaldaics, and Joſephus in his firſt book againſt Appion; and the ſame error is refuted by Julius Firmicus out of Philo Biblius, and Dorotheus Sidonius. See alſo what Euſebius produces, out of Eupolemus, concerning the giants and the tower, in his Goſpel Preparation, book xx. chap. 17.

the heavens? Diodorus Siculus (*a*), Strabo (*b*), Tacitus (*c*), Pliny (*d*), Solinus (*e*) ſpeak

(*a*) *Diodorus Siculus*, etc.] Book xix. where he deſcribes the lake Aſphaltitis: 'The neighbouring country burns with fire, the ill ſmell of which makes the bodies of the inhabitants ſickly, and not very long-lived.' (See more of this in our Diſſertation added to the Pentateuch, concerning the burning of Sodom. Le Clerc.)

(*b*) *Strabo*, etc.] Book xvi. after the deſcription of the lake Aſphaltitis: 'There are many ſigns of this country's being on fire; for about Maſada they ſhow many cragged and burnt rocks, and in many places caverns eaten in, and ground turned into aſhes, drops of pitch falling from the rocks, and running waters ſtinking to a great diſtance, and their habitations overthrown; which makes credible a report amongſt the inhabitants, that formerly there was thirteen cities inhabited there, the chief of which was Sodom, ſo large as to be ſixty furlongs round; but by earthquakes and fire breaking out, and by hot waters mixed with bitumen and brimſtone, it became a lake as we now ſee it; the rocks took fire, ſome of the cities were ſwallowed up, and others forſaken by thoſe inhabitants that could flee away.'

(*c*) *Tacitus*, etc.] In the fifth book of his hiſtory: 'Not far from thence, are thoſe fields, which are reported to have been formerly very fruitful, and had large cities built in them, but they were burnt by lightning; the marks of which remain, in that the land is of a burning nature, and has loſt its fruitfulneſs. For every thing that is planted, or grows of itſelf, as ſoon as it is come to an herb or flower, or grown to its proper bigneſs, vaniſhes like duſt into nothing.'

(*d*) *Pliny*, etc.] He deſcribes the lake Aſphaltitis, book v. chap. 16. and book xxxv. chap. 15.

(*e*) *Solinus*, etc.] In the thirty-ſixth chapter of Salmanus's edition: 'At a good diſtance from Jeruſalem, a diſmal lake extends itſelf, which was ſtruck by lightening, as appears from the black earth burnt to aſhes. There are two towns there, one called Sodom, the other Gomorrah; the apples that grow there, cannot be eaten,

of the burning of Sodom. Herodotus (*a*), Dio-

though they look as if they were ripe; for the outward ſkin incloſes a kind of ſooty aſhes, which, preſſed by the leaſt touch, flies out in ſmoke, and vaniſhes into fine duſt.'

(*a*) *Herodotus*, etc.] With ſome little miſtake. The words are in his Euterpe: 'Originally only the Colchians, and Egyptians, and Ethiopians were circumciſed. For the Phoenicians and Syrians in Paleſtine confeſs they learned it from the Egyptians. And the Syrians who dwell at Thermodoon, and on the Parthenian river, and the Macrons their neighbours, ſay, they learnt it of the Colchians. For theſe are the circumciſed, and in this particular agree with the Egyptians. But concerning the Ethiophians and Egyptians, I cannot affirm poſitively, which learned it of the other.' Joſephus rightly obſerves, that none were circumciſed in Palaeſtine Syria but the Jews; in the eighth book, chap. 14. of his antitient Hiſtory, and firſt book againſt Appion. Concerning which Jews, Juvenal ſays, 'They take off their foreſkin;' and Tacitus, 'That they inſtituted circumciſing themſelves, that they might be known by ſuch diſtinction.' See Strabo, book xvii. But the Jews are ſo far from confeſſing, that they derived this cuſtom from the Egyptians, that on the contrary, they openly declare that the Egyptians learned to be circumciſed of Joſeph. Neither were all the Egyptians circumciſed, as all the Jews were, as we may ſee from the example of Appion, who was an Egyptian, in Joſephus. Herodotus undoubtedly put the Phoenicians for the Idumaeans; as Ariſtophanes does in his play called the Birds, where he calls the Egyptians and Phoenicians, *the circumciſed*. Ammonius, of the Difference of Words, ſays, 'The Idumaeans were not originally Jews, but Phoenicians and Syrians.' Thoſe Ethiopians which were circumciſed, were of the poſterity of Keturah, as ſhall be obſerved afterwards. The Cholchians and their neighbours, were of the ten tribes that Salmanaſar carried away, and from thence ſome came into Thrace. Thus the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes's Acharnenſes, ſays, 'That the nation of the Odomants is the

dorus (*a*), Strabo (*b*), Philo Biblius (*c*), teſtify the ancient cuſtom of circumciſion, which is confirmed by thoſe nations deſcended from (*d*) Abraham, not only Hebrews, but alſo Idumaeans (*e*),

ſame as the Thracians; they are ſaid to be Jews.' Where, by Jews, are to be underſtood, improperly, Hebrews, as is uſual. From the Æthiopians, circumciſion went croſs the ſea into the new world, if it be true what is ſaid of that rite's being found in many places of the world. (The learned diſpute, whether circumciſion was inſtituted firſt amongſt the Egyptians or amongſt the Jews, concerning which ſee my notes upon Gen. xvii. 30. Le Clerc)

(*a*) *Diodorus*, etc.] Book i. of the Colchians: 'That this nation ſprang from the Egyptians, appears from hence, that they are circumciſed after the manner of the Egyptians; which cuſtom remains amongſt this colony, as it does amongſt the Jews.' Now, ſince the Hebrews were of old circumciſed; it no more follows from the Colchians being circumciſed, that they ſprang from the Egyptians, than that they ſprang from the Hebrews, as we affirm they did. He tells us, book iii. that the Troglodites were circumciſed, who were a part of the Æthiopians.

(*b*) *Strabo*, etc.] Book xvi. concerning the Troglodites: 'Some of theſe are circumciſed, like the Egyptians.' In the ſame book he aſcribes circumciſion to the Jews.

(*c*) *Philo Biblius*, etc.] In the fable of Saturn, in Euſebius, book i. chap. 10.

(*d*) *Deſcended from Abraham*, etc.] To which Abraham, that the precept of circumciſion was firſt of all given, Theodorus tells us in his poem upon the Jews; out of which Euſebius has preſerved theſe verſes in his Goſpel Preparation, book ix. c. 22.

He who from home the righteous Abraham brought,
Commanded him and all his houſe, with knife
To circumciſe their foreſkin. He obeyed.

(*e*) *Idumaeans*, etc.] So called from Eſau, who is called Οὐσωός *Ouſoos*, by Philo Biblius. His other name was Edom, which the Greeks tranſlated Ἐρυθρᾶν *Eruthran*, from whence comes the Erythrean ſea, becauſe the anti-

Iſmaelites (*a*), and others (*b*). The hiſtory of

ent dominions of Eſau and his poſterity extended ſo far. They who are ignorant of their original, confound them, as we obſerved, with the Phoenicians. Ammonius ſays, the Idumaeans were circumciſed; and ſo does Juſtin, in his Dialogue with Trypho; and Epiphanius againſt the Ebionites. Part of theſe were Homerites, who, as Epiphanius againſt the Ebionites tells us, were circumciſed in his time.

(*a*) *Iſmaelites*, etc.] Theſe were circumciſed of old, but on the ſame year of their age as Iſmael. Joſephus, book i. chap. 12, 13. 'A child was born to them, (viz. Abraham and Sarah) when they were both very old, which they circumciſed on the eighth day; and hence the cuſtom of the Jews is, to circumciſe after ſo many days. But the Arabians defer it thirteen years; for Iſmael, the father of that nation, who was the child of Abraham by his concubine, was circumciſed at that age.' Thus Origen, in his excellent Diſcourſe againſt Fate, which is extant in Euſebius, book vi. ch. 11. And in the Greek collection, whoſe title is Φιλοκαλία; 'I do not know how this can be defended, that there ſhould be juſt ſuch a poſition of the ſtars, upon every one's birth in Judea, that upon the eighth day they muſt be circumciſed, made ſore, wounded, lamed, and ſo inflamed, that they want the help of a phyſician, as ſoon as they come into the world. And that there ſhould be ſuch a poſition of the ſtars to the Iſmaelites in Arabia, that they muſt be all circumciſed when they are thirteen years old; for ſo it is reported of them.' Epiphanius, in his diſpute againſt the Ebionites, rightly explains theſe Iſmaelites to be the Saracens; for the Saracens always obſerved this cuſtom, and the Turks had it from them.

(*b*) *And others*, etc.] Namely, thoſe that deſcended from Keturah, concerning whom, there is a famous place of Alexander the hiſtorian in Joſephus, book i. c. 16. which Euſebius quotes in his Goſpel Preparation, book ix. chap. 20. 'Cleodemus the prophet, who is called Malchus, in his relation of the Jews, gives us the ſame hiſtory as Moſes their lawgiver, viz. 'That Abraham had many children by Keturah, to three of which he gave

Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, and Joſeph, agreeable with Moſes, was extant (*a*) of old in Philo Biblius (*b*) out of Sanchuniathon, in Bero-

the names, Afer, Aſſer, and Afra. Aſſyria is ſo called from Aſſer; and from the other two, Afer and Afra, the city Afra, and the country Africa is denominated. Theſe fought with Hercules againſt Lybia and Antaeus. Then Hercules married his daughter to Afra: he had a ſon of her, whoſe name was Diodorus, of whom was born Sophon, whence the Barbarians are called Sophaces." Here the other names, through the fault of the tranſcribers, neither agree with Moſes, nor with the books of Joſephus and Euſebius, as we have them now. But Ἀφὲρ, is undoubtedly the ſame as עפר *Apher* in Moſes. We are to underſtand by Hercules, not the Thebean Hercules, but the Phoenician Hercules, much older, whom Philo Biblius mentions, quoted by Euſebius often, in the forementioned tenth chapter of the firſt book of his Goſpel Preparation. This is that Hercules, who Salluſt ſays in his Jugurthine war, brought his Army into Africa. So that we ſee whence the Æthiopians who were a great part of the Africans, had their circumciſion, which they had in Herodotus's time; and even now, thoſe that are Chriſtians retain it, not out of a religious neceſſity, but out of reſpect to ſo antient a cuſtom.

(*a*) *Was extant of old*, etc.] Scaliger thinks that ſeveral things which Euſebius has preſerved out of Philo Biblius, certainly relate to Abraham; ſee himſelf in his Appendix to the Emendation of Time. There is ſome reaſon to doubt of it.

(*b*) *Philo Biblius*, etc.] How far we are to give credit to Philo's Sanchuniathon, does not yet appear; for the very learned Henry Dodwell has rendered his integrity very ſuſpicious, in his Engliſh Diſſertation on Sanchuniathon's Phoenician hiſtory, publiſhed at London, in the year, 1681, to whoſe arguments we may add this; that in his Fragments, there is an abſurd mixture of the gods unknown to the eaſtern Grecians in the firſt times, with the deities of the Phoenicians, which the ſtreightneſs of paper will not

ſus (*a*), Hecataeus (*b*), Damaſcenus (*c*), Artapanus (*d*), Eupolemus, Demetrius, and partly in the antient writers (*e*) of the Orphic ver-

allow me to enlarge upon. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *Beroſus*, etc] Joſephus has preſerved his words in his antient hiſtory, book i. ch 8. 'In the tenth generation after the flood, there was a man amongſt the Chaldaeans, who was very juſt and great, and ſought after heavenly things.' Now, it is evident from reaſon, that this ought to be referred to the time of Abraham.

(*b*) *Hecataeus*, etc.] He wrote a book concerning Abraham, which is now loſt, but was extant in Joſephus's time.

(*c*) *Damaſcenus*, etc.] Nicolaus, that famous man, who was the friend of Auguſtus and Herod, ſome of whoſe reliques were lately procured by that excellent perſon, Nicholas Peireſius; by whoſe death, learning and learned men had a very great loſs. The words of this Nicolaus Damaſcenus, Joſephus relates in the forecited place. 'Abraham reigned in Damaſcus, being a ſtranger, who came out of the land of the Chaldaeans, beyond Babylon; and not long after, he and thoſe that belonged to him, went from hence into the land of Canaan, but now Judaea, where he and thoſe that deſcended from him dwelt, of whoſe affairs I ſhall treat in another place. The name of Abraham is, at this day, famous in the country about Damaſcus, and they ſhow us the town, which, from him, is called Abraham's dwelling.'

(*d*) *Artapanus*, *Eupolemus*, etc.] Euſebius in his Preparation, book ix. chap. 16, 17, 18, 21, 23. has quoted ſeveral things, under theſe men's names, out of Alexander the hiſtorian, but the places are too long to be tranſcribed; no body has quoted them before Euſebius. But the fable of the Bethulians, which Euſebius took out of Philo Biblius, Prepar. book i. ch. 10. came from the Altar of Bethel, built by Jacob, mentioned Gen. xxxv.

(*e*) *In the antient writers*, etc.] For certainly thoſe that we find in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. v. and Euſebius, book xiii. chap. 12. can be underſtood of no other.

ſes; and ſomething of it is ſtill extant in Juſtin (*a*), out of Trogus Pompeius. By almoſt all which (*b*), is related alſo the hiſtory of Moſes, and his principal acts. The Orphic verſes ex-

The maker of all things is known to none,
But one of the Chaldean race, his ſon
Only begotten, who well underſtood
The ſtarry orb, and by what laws each ſtar
Moves round the earth, embracing all things in it.

Where Abraham is called *only begotten*, as in Iſaiah li. 2. אחד *Achad*. We have before ſeen, in Beroſus, that Abraham was famous for the knowlege of aſtronomy; and Eupolemus, in Euſebius, ſays of him; 'That he was the inventor of aſtronomy amongſt the Chaldeans.'

(*a*) *In Juſtin*, etc.] Book xxxvi. ch. 2. 'The original of the Jews was from Damaſcus, an eminent city in Syria, of which afterwards Abraham and Iſrael were kings.' Trogus Pompeius calls them kings, as Nicolaus did; becauſe they exerciſed a kingly power in their families; and therefore they are called *anointed*, Pſ. cv. 15.

(*b*) *By almoſt all which*, etc.] See Euſebius in the forementioned book ix. chap. 26, 27, 28. Thoſe things are true, which are there quoted out of Tragicus Judaeus Ezechiel, part of which we find in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i. who reports, out of the books of the prieſts, that an Egyptian was ſlain at Moſes's word; and Strom. v. he relates ſome things belonging to Moſes, out of Artapanus, though not very exactly. Juſtin, out of Trogus Pompeius, ſays of Moſes, 'He was leader of thoſe that were baniſhed, and took away the ſacred things of the Egyptians; which they endeavouring to recover by arms, were forced by a tempeſt to return home; and that Moſes having entered into his own country of Damaſcus, took poſſeſſion of mount Sinah; and what follows; which is a mixture of truth and falſhood. Where we find Arvas written by him, it ſhould be read Arnas, who is Aaron, not the ſon, as he imagines, but the brother of Moſes, and a prieſt.

preſſy mention his being taken out of the water (*a*), and the two tables that were given him by God. To theſe we may add Polemon (*b*): and ſeveral things (*c*) about his coming out of

(*a*) *His being taken out of water*, etc.] As the great Scaliger has mended the place; who, with a very little variation of the ſhape of a letter, inſtead of ὑλογενὴς, *hulogenes*, as it is quoted out of Ariſtobulus, by Euſebius, in his Goſpel Preparation, book xiii. ch. 12. bids us read ὑδογενὴς, *hudogenes*, *born of the water*. So that the verſes are thus:

So was it ſaid of old, ſo he commands,
Who's born of water, who receiv'd from God
The two great tables of the moral law.

The antient writer of the Orphic verſes, whoever he was, added theſe words, after he had ſaid, that there was but one God to be worſhipped, who was the Creator and governor of the world.

(*b*) *Polemon*, etc.] He ſeems to have lived in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes; concerning which, ſee that very uſeful book of the famous Gerard Voſſius, of the Greek hiſtorians. Africanus ſays, the Greek hiſtories were wrote by him; which is the ſame book Athenaeus calls Ἑλλαδικον. His words are theſe: 'In the reign of Apis the ſon of Phoroneus, part of the Egyptian army went out of Egypt, and dwelt in Syria, called Paleſtine, not far from Arabia.' As Africanus preſerved the place of Polemon, ſo Euſebius, in his Chronology, preſerved that of Africanus.

(*c*) *And ſeveral things*, etc.] The places are in Joſephus againſt Appion, with abundance of falſities, as coming from people who hated the Jews; and from hence Tacitus took his account of them. But it appears from all theſe compared together, that the Hebrews deſcended from the Aſſyrians, and poſſeſſing a great part of Egypt, led the life of ſhepherds; but afterwards being burdened with hard labour, they came out of Egypt under the command of Moſes, ſome of the Egyptians accompanying them, and went through the country of the Arabians into

Egypt, from the Egyptian writers, Manetho, Lyſimachus, Chaeremon. Neither can any prudent man think it at all credible, that Moſes, who had ſo many enemies (*a*), not only of the Egyptians, but alſo of many other nations, as the Idumaeans (*b*), Arabians (*c*), and Phoenicians (*d*), would venture to relate any thing concerning the creation of the world, or the original of things, which could be confuted by more antient writings, or was contradictory to the antient and received opinions; or that he would relate any thing of matters in his own time, that could be confuted by the teſtimony of many perſons then alive. (*e*) Dio-

Paleſtine Syria, and there ſet up rites contrary to thoſe of the Egyptians: but Joſephus, in that learned book, has ſurprizingly ſhown, how the Egyptian writers, in the falſities which they have, here and there, mixed with this hiſtory, differ with one another, and ſome with themſelves, and how many ages the books of Moſes exceeds theirs in antiquity.

(*a*) *Who had ſo many enemies*, etc.] From whom they went away, by force, whoſe laws the Jews aboliſhed. Concerning the implacable hatred of the Egyptians againſt the Jews, ſee Philo againſt Flaccus, and in his Embaſſy; and Joſephus in each book againſt Appion.

(*b*) *The Idumaeans*, etc.] Who inherited the antient hatred between Jacob and Eſau; which was increaſed from a new cauſe, when the Idumaeans denied the Hebrews a paſſage, Num. xx. 14.

(*c*) *Arabians*, etc.] Thoſe, I mean, that deſcended from Iſmael.

(*d*) *Phoenicians*, etc.] Namely, the Canaanites, and the neighbouring nations, who had continual wars with the Hebrews.

(*e*) *Diodorus Siculus*, etc.] In his firſt book, where he treats of thoſe who made the gods to be the authors of their

dorus Siculus, Strabo (*a*), Pliny

laws, he adds; 'Amongſt the Jews was Moſes, who called God by the name of Ἰάω, *Iao*;' where, by Ἰάω, *Iao*, he means יהוה *Jehovah*, which was ſo pronounced by the oracles, and in the Orphic verſes mentioned by the antients, and by the Baſilidian heretics, and other Gnoſtics. The ſame name the Tyrians, as we learn from Philo Biblius, pronounced Ἰευω, *Ieuo*, others Ἰαὼ, *Iaou*, as we ſee in Clemens Alexandrinus. The Samaritans pronounced it, Ἰαβαὶ, *Iabai*, as we read in Theodoret; for the eaſtern people added to the ſame words, ſome one vowel, and ſome another; from whence it is that there is ſuch difference in the proper names in the Old Teſtament. Philo rightly obſerves, that this word ſignifies *exiſtence*. Beſides Diodorus, of thoſe that make mention of Moſes, the Exhortation to the Greeks, which is aſcribed to Juſtin, names Appion, Ptolemy Mendeſius, Hellanicus, Philochorus, Caſtor, Thallus, Alexander the hiſtorian: and Cyril mentions ſome of them in his firſt book againſt Julian.

(*a*) *Strabo*, etc.] The place is in the ſixteenth book, where he thinks that Moſes was an Egyptian prieſt; which he had from the Egyptian writers, as appears in Joſephus: afterwards he adds his own opinion, which has ſome miſtakes in it. 'Many who worſhipped the Deity, agreed with him [Moſes]; for he both ſaid and taught, that the Egyptians did not rightly conceive of God, when they likened him to wild beaſts and cattle; nor the Lybians, nor the Greeks, in reſembling him by a human ſhape; for God is no other than that univerſe which ſurrounds us; the earth, and the ſea, and the heaven, and the world, and the nature of all things, as they are called by us. Who, ſays he, that has any underſtanding, would preſume to form any image like to theſe things that are about us? Wherefore we ought to lay aſide all carved images, and worſhip him in the innermoſt part of a temple worthy of him, without any figure.' He adds, that this was the opinion of good men: he adds alſo, that ſacred rites were inſtituted by him, which were not burdenſome for their coſtlineſs, nor hateful, as proceeding

(*a*), Tacitus (*b*), and after them Dionyſius Longinus (*c*), concerning Loftineſs of Speech, make mention of Moſes. Beſides the (*d*) Talmu-

from madneſs. He mentions circumciſion, the meats that were forbidden, and the like: and after he had ſhown that man was naturally deſirous of civil ſociety, he tells us, that it is promoted by divine and human precepts, but more effectually by divine.

(*a*) *Pliny*, etc.] Book xxx. chap. 1. 'There is another ſect of magicians which ſprang from Moſes.' And Juvenal;

They learn, and keep, and fear the Jewiſh law,
Which Moſes in his ſecret volume gave.

(*b*) *Tacitus*, etc.] Hiſtory v. Where, according to the Egyptian fables, 'Moſes is called one of thoſe that were baniſhed.'

(*c*) *Dionyſius Longinus*, etc.] He lived in the time of Aurelian the emperor, a favourite of Zenobia, queen of the Palmyrians. In his book of the Sublime, after he had ſaid, that they who ſpeak of God, ought to take care to repreſent him, as great, and pure, and without mixture; he adds, 'Thus does he who gave laws to the Jews, who was an extraordinary man, who conceived and ſpoke worthily of the power of God, when he writes in the beginning of his laws, *God ſpake*: what? *Let there be light, and there was light; let there be earth, and it was ſo.*' Chalcidius took many things out of Moſes, of whom he ſpeaks thus, 'Moſes was the wiſeſt of men, who, as they ſay, was enlivened, not by human eloquence, but by divine inſpiration.'

(*d*) *Beſides the Talmudiſts*, etc.] In the Gemara, in the title, *Concerning Oblations*, and the chapter, *All the Oblations of the Synagogue*. To which add the Tanchuma or Ilmedenu. Mention is there made of the chief of Pharaoh's magicians, and their diſcourſe with Moſes is related. Add alſo Numenius, book iii. concerning the Jews: Euſebius quotes his words, book viii. chap. 8. 'Afterwards Jannes and Mambres, Egyptian ſcribes, were thought to be famous for magical arts, about the time that the Jews were driven out of Egypt; for theſe were they who were

diſts, Pliny (*a*), and Apuleius (*b*), ſpeak of Jamnes and Mambres, who reſiſted Moſes in Egypt. Some things (*c*) there are in other writers, and many things amongſt the Pythagoreans (*d*), about

choſen out of the multitude of the Egyptians, to contend with Muſaeus the leader of the Jews, a man very powerful with God by prayers; and they ſeemed to be able to repel thoſe ſore calamities which were brought upon Egypt by Muſaeus.' Where Moſes is called Muſaeus, a word very near it, as is cuſtomary with the Greeks; as others call Jeſus, Jaſon; and Saul, Paul. Origen againſt Celſus refers us to the ſame place of Numenius. Artapanus in the ſame Euſebius, book ix. ch. 27. calls them the prieſts of Memphis, who were commanded by the king to be put to death, if they did not do things equal to Moſes.

(*a*) *Pliny*, etc.] In the forecited place.

(*b*) *Apuleius*, etc.] In his ſecond Apologetic.

(*c*) *Some things there are*, etc.] As in Strabo, Tacitus, and Theophraſtus, quoted by Porphyry, in his ſecond book againſt eating Living Creatures, where he treats of prieſts and burnt offerings; and in the fourth book of the ſame work, where he ſpeaks of fiſhes, and other living creatures, that were forbidden to be eaten. See the place of Hecataeus, in Joſephus's firſt book againſt Appion, and in Euſebius's Preparation, book ix. chap. 4. You have the law of avoiding the cuſtoms of ſtrange nations, in Juſtin's and Tacitus's Hiſtories; of not eating of ſwines fleſh, in Tacitus, Juvenal, Plutarch's Sympoſ. iv. and Macrobius from the antients. In the ſame place of Plutarch, you will find mention of the Levites, and the pitching of the tabernacle.

(*d*) *Pythagoreans*, etc.] Hermippus in the life of Pythagoras, quoted by Joſephus againſt Appion, book ii. 'Theſe things he ſaid and did, imitating the opinion of the Jews and Thracians, and transferring them to himſelf; for truly this man took many things into his own philoſophy, from the Jewiſh laws.' To abſtain from creatures that die of themſelves, is put among the precepts of Pythagoras, by Hierocles, and Por-

the law and rites given by Moſes. Strabo (*a*) and Juſtin, out of Trogus, remarkably teſtify con-

phyry in his Epiſtle to Anebo, and Ælian, book iv. that is, out of Levit. vii. 24. Deut. xiv. 21. 'Thou ſhalt not engrave the figure of God on a ring,' is taken out of Pythagoras, in Malchus's or Porphyry's Exhortation to Philoſophy, and in Diogenes Laertius; and this from the ſecond commandment. 'Take not away that which thou didſt not place,' Joſephus in his ſecond book againſt Appion, puts amongſt the Jewiſh precepts, and Philoſtratus amongſt the Pythagoreans. 'Jamblicus ſays, 'A tender and fruitful tree ought not to be corrupted or hurt,' which he had out of Deuteronomy, xx. 19. The forementioned Hermippus aſcribes this to Pythagoras, 'not to paſs by a place where an aſs has ſet upon his knees:' the foundation of which is the ſtory in Numbers, xxii. 27. Porphyry acknowleges, that Plato took many things from the Hebrews, as Theodoret obſerves, in his firſt Diſcourſe againſt the Greeks. You will ſee part of them in Euſebius's Preparation. (I ſuſpect that Hermippus, or Joſephus, inſtead of Jews, ſhould have ſaid Idaeans, that is, the prieſts of Jupiter Idaeus in Crete, whom Pythagoras envied. See Sir John Marſham's Collection of theſe, in his Tenth Age of the Egyptian Affairs. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *Strabo and Juſtin*, etc.] Strabo in his fourteenth book, after the hiſtory of Moſes, ſays, 'That his followers, for a conſiderable time, kept his precepts, and were truly righteous and godly.' And a little after he ſays, that thoſe that believed in Moſes, 'worſhipped God, and were lovers of equity.' And Juſtin ſays thus, book xxxvi. chap. 2. 'Whoſe righteouſneſs, (viz. the kings and prieſts) mixed with religion, increaſed beyond belief.' Ariſtotle alſo (witneſs Clearchus in his ſecond book of Sleep, which Joſephus tranſcribed) gives a great character of a Jew whom he had ſeen, for his wiſdom and learning. Tacitus, amongſt his many falſities, ſays this one truth, that the Jews worſhipped 'that ſupreme and eternal Being, who was immutable, and could not periſh;' that is, God (as Dion Caſſius ſpeaks, treating of

cerning the religion and righteouſneſs of the antient Jews: ſo that there ſeems to be no need of mentioning what is found, or has formerly been found, of Joſhua and others, agreeable to the Hebrew books; ſeeing that whoever gives credit to Moſes (which it is a ſhame for any one to refuſe) cannot but believe thoſe famous miracles done by the hand of God; which is the principal thing here aimed at. Now, that the miracles of later date, ſuch as thoſe of Elijah (*a*), Eliſha, and others, ſhould not be counterfeit, there is this further argument; that in thoſe times Judea was become more known, and becauſe of the difference of religion, was hated by their neighbours, who could very eaſily confute the firſt riſe of a lie. The hiſtory of Jonah's being three days in the whale's belly, is in Lycophron (*b*)

the ſame Jews) 'who is ineffable and inviſible.'

(*a*) *Elijah*, etc.] Concerning whoſe prophecy, Euſebius ſays, Preparation, book ix. ch. 30. that Eupolemus wrote a book. In the 39th chapter of the ſame book, Euſebius quotes a place of his concerning the prophecies of Jeremiah.

(*b*) *Lycophron*, etc.] The verſes are theſe:

Of that three-nighted lyon, whom of old
Triton's fierce dog with furious jaws devour'd,
Within whoſe bowels, tearing of his liver,
He rolled, burning with heat, though without fire,
His head with drops of ſweat bedew'd all o'er.

Upon which place Tzetſes ſays, 'Becauſe he was three days within the whale.' And Æneas Gazeus in Theophraſtus. 'According to the ſtory of Hercules, who was ſaved by a whale ſwallowing him up, when the ſhip in which he ſailed was wrecked.'

and Æneas Gazeus, only under the name of Hercules; to advance whoſe fame, every thing that was great and noble uſed to be related of him, as Tacitus obſerves (*a*). Certainly nothing but the manifeſt evidence of the hiſtory could compel Julian (who was as great an enemy to the Jews as to the Chriſtians) to confeſs, that there were ſome (*b*) men inſpired by the divine Spirit among the Jews, and that fire (*c*) deſcended from heaven, and conſumed the ſacrifices of Moſes and Elias. And here it is worthy of obſervation, that there was not only very ſevere (*d*) puniſhments threatened amongſt the Hebrews, to any who ſhould falſely aſſume the gift of prophecy, but very many kings (*e*), who, by that means, might have procured great authority to them-

(*a*) *Tacitus*, etc.] And Servius, as Varro and Verrius Flaccus affirm.

(*b*) *That there were ſome*, etc.] Book iii. in Cyril.

(*c*) *That fire deſcended*, etc.] Julian in the tenth book of Cyril. 'Ye refuſe to bring ſacrifices to the altar and offer them, becauſe the fire does not deſcend from heaven and conſume the ſacrifices, as it did in Moſes' time: this happened once to Moſes, and again long after to Elijah the Tiſhbite.' See what follows concerning the Fire from Heaven. Cyprian in iii. of his Teſtimonies, ſays, 'that in the ſacrifices, all thoſe that God accepted of, fire came down from heaven, and conſumed the things ſacrificed.' Menander alſo in his Phoenician hiſtory mentions that great drought, which happened in the time of Elias, that is, when Ithobalus reigned amongſt the Tyrians. See Joſephus in his Ancient Hiſtory, book viii. chap. 7.

(*d*) *Severe puniſhments*, etc.] Deut. xiii. 5. xviii. 20. and the following.

(*e*) *But very many kings*, etc.] No body dared to do it after David.

ſelves; and many learned men, ſuch as Eſdras (*a*) and others, dared not to aſſume this honour to themſelves; nay, ſome ages before Chriſt's (*b*) time, no-body dared to do it. Much leſs could ſo many thouſand people be impoſed upon, in avouching a conſtant and public miracle, I mean, that of the oracle (*c*), which ſhined on the high-

(*a*) *Such as Eſdras*, etc.] The Hebrews uſed to remark upon thoſe times, 'Hitherto the prophets, now begin the wiſe men.'

(*b*) *Nay, ſome ages before Chriſt's time*, etc.] Therefore in the firſt book of Maccabees, iv. 46. we read, that the ſtones of the altar which was defiled were laid aſide, 'until there ſhould come a prophet to ſhew what ſhould be done with them.' And in the ninth chap. ver. 27. of the ſame book. 'So was there a great affliction in Iſrael, the like whereof had never been, ſince the time that there were no prophets amongſt them.' The ſame we find in Talmud, in the title concerning the council.

(*c*) *That of the oracle*, etc.] See Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8. Numb. xxvii. 21. Deut. xxxiii. 8. 1 Sam. xxi. 11. xxii. 10, 13, 15. xxiii. 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12. xxviii. 6. Add Neh. vii. 65. and Joſephus's book iii. 9. This is what is meant by the words ἐρώτημα δήλων, 'the conſulting (an oracle,) where you will have an anſwer as clear as light itſelf:' in the ſon of Syrach xxxiii. 4. For the word δῆλα, *clear*, anſwers to the Hebrew אוּרִים *Urim*, and ſo the Seventy tranſlate it, in the forecited places, Numb. xxvii. 21. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. and elſewhere δήλωσιν, *making clear*, as Exod. xxviii. 26. Levit. viii. 8. They alſo tranſlate תֻּמִּים *Thumim*, ἀλήθειαν, *truth*; the Egyptians imitated this, juſt as children do men. Diodorus, book i. relating the affairs of the Egyptians, ſays of the chief judge, 'that he had truth hanging about his neck.' And again afterwards, 'The king commands that all things neceſſary and fitting ſhould be provided for the ſubſiſtence of the judges, and that the chief judge ſhould have great plenty. This man carries about his neck, an image of

prieſt's breaſt (*a*), which is ſo firmly believed by all the Jews, to have remained till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, that their anceſtors muſt of neceſſity be well aſſured of the truth of it.

SECT. XVII. *The ſame proved alſo from Predictions.*

THERE is another argument to prove the providence of God, very like to this of miracles, and no leſs powerful, drawn from the foretelling of future events, which was very often and very expreſly done amongſt the Hebrews; ſuch as the man's being childleſs (*b*) who ſhould rebuild Jericho; the deſtroying the altar of Bethel, by

precious ſtones, hanging on a golden chain, which they call Truth, and they then begin to hear caſes, when the chief judge has fixed this image of truth.' And Ælian, book xiv. chap. 24. of his various hiſtory. 'The judges in old time amongſt the Egyptians, were prieſts, the oldeſt of which was chief prieſt, who judged every one; and he ought to be a very juſt man, and one that ſpared no-body. He wore an ornament about his neck, made of ſaphire ſtone, which was called truth.' The Babyloniſh Gemara, chap. i. of the book called Joma, ſays, that ſome things in the firſt temple were wanting in the ſecond, as the ark with the mercy-ſeat, and the cherubims, the fire coming from heaven, the Schecinah, the Holy Ghoſt, and the Urim and Thumim.

(*a*) *Which ſhined on the high-prieſt's breaſt*, etc.] This is a conjecture of the Rabbins, without any foundation from ſcripture. It is much more credible, that the prieſt pronounced the oracle with his mouth. See our Obſervations on Exod. xxviii. 30. Numbers xxvii. 31. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *The man's being childleſs*, etc.] Compare Joſhua vi. 26. with 1 Kings xvi. 34.

king Joſiah by name, above three hundred (*a*) years before it came to paſs: ſo alſo Iſaiah foretold the very name (*b*) and principal acts of Cyrus; and Jeremiah the event of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, after it was ſurrounded by the Chaldeans; and Daniel the tranſlation (*c*) of the empire from the Aſſyrians, to the Medes and Perſians, and from them to Alexander (*d*) of Macedon, whoſe ſucceſſors (*e*), to this part of his kingdom, were to be the poſterity of Lagus and Seleucus; and what evils the Hebrews ſhould undergo from all theſe, particularly the famous Antiochus (*f*); ſo very plainly, that Porphyry (*g*), who compared the Graecian hiſtories, extant in his time, with the prophecies; could not make it

(*a*) *Above three hundred years*, etc.] CCCLXI. as Joſephus thinks, in his Antient Hiſtory, book x. chap. 5.

(*b*) *The very name*, etc.] Chap. xxxvii, xxxviii. For the fulfilling, ſee ch. xxxix. and lii. Euſebius, book ix. chap. 39. of his Preparation, brings a teſtimony out of Eupolemus, both of the prophecy and the fulfilling of it.

(*c*) *The tranſlation of the empire*, etc.] Daniel i. 32 39. v. 28. vii. 5. viii. 3, 20. x. 20. xi. 2.

(*d*) *From them to Alexander*, etc.] In the foregoing chap. ii. 32, 39. vii. 6. viii. 5, 6, 7, 8, 21. x. 20. xi. 3, 4.

(*e*) *Whoſe ſucceſſors*, etc.] Chap. ii. 33, 40. vii. 7, 19, 23, 24. viii. 22. x. 5,—20.

(*f*) *The famous Antiochus*, etc.] VII. 8, 11, 20, 24, 25. viii. 9,—14, 23,—26. xi. 21, —45. xii. 1, 2, 3, 11. Joſephus explains theſe places as we do, book x. chap. 12. and book xii. chap. 11. and book i. chap. 1. of his Jewiſh War. Chryſoſtom ii. againſt the Jews; making uſe of the teſtimony of Joſephus, and Polychronius, and other Greek writers.

(*g*) *That Porphyry*, etc.] See Jerom upon Daniel throughout.

out any other way, but by ſaying, that the things aſcribed to Daniel, were wrote after they came to paſs; which is the ſame as if any one ſhould deny, that what is now extant under the name of Virgil, and was always thought to be his, was writ by him in Auguſtus's time. For there was never any more doubt amongſt the Hebrews, concerning the one, than there was amongſt the Romans, concerning the other. To all which may be added, the many and expreſs oracles amongſt thoſe of Mexico (*a*) and Peru, which foretold the coming of the Spaniards into thoſe parts, and the calamities that would follow.

And by other Arguments.

To this may be referred (*b*) very many dreams, exactly agreeing with the events; which, both as to themſelves and their cauſes, were ſo utterly unknown to thoſe that dreamed them, that they cannot without great ſhameleſſneſs be attributed

(*a*) *Amongſt thoſe of Mexico*, etc.] Garcilazzo de la Vega, (the Inca,) Acoſta, Herrera, and others, relate ſtrange things of theſe oracles. See Peter Cieza, tome ii. of the Indian affairs.

(*b*) *To this may be referred*, etc.] What is here ſaid, does not ſo much prove the exiſtence of God, who takes care of the affairs of men; as that there are preſent with them ſome inviſible beings, more powerful than men, which whoever believes, will eaſily believe that there is a God. For there is no neceſſity that all things, which come to paſs different from the common courſe of nature, ſhould be aſcribed to God himſelf; as if whatever cannot be effected by men, or the power of corporeal things, muſt be done by him himſelf. Le Clerc.

to natural cauſes. Of which kind the beſt writers afford us eminent examples. Tertullian (*a*) has made a collection of them in his book of the Soul; and Ghoſts (*b*) have not only been ſeen,

(*a*) *Tertullian has made a collection*, etc.] Chap. xlvi. where he relates the remarkable dreams of Aſtyages, of Philip of Macedon, of the Himerraean woman, of Laodice, of Mithridates, of Illyrian Balaris, of M. Tully, of Artorius, of the daughter of Policrates Samius, whom Cicero calls his nurſe, of Cleonomus Picta, of Sophocles, of Neoptolemus the tragedian. Some of theſe we find in Valerius Maximus, book i. chap. 7. beſides that of Calpurnia concerning Caeſar, of P. Decius and T. Manlius, the conſuls, T. Atinius, M. Tully in his baniſhment, Hannibal, Alexander the Great, Simonides, Croeſus, the mother of Dionyſius the tyrant, C. Sempronius Gracchus; Caſſius of Parmenia, Aterius Rufus the Roman knight, Hamilcar the Carthaginian, Alcibiades the Athenian, and a certain Arcadian. There are many remarkable things in Tully's books of Divination; neither ought we to forget that of Pliny, book xxv. chap 2. concerning the mother of one that was fighting in Luſitania. Add alſo thoſe of Antigonus and Artucules, who was the firſt of the race of the Oſmanidae, in the Lipſian Monita, book i. chap. 5. and others collected by the induſtrious Theodore Zuinger, vol. v. book iv. the title of which is Concerning Dreams.

(*b*) *And Ghoſts have not only*, etc.] See Plutarch in the life of Dion and Brutus, and Appion of the ſame Brutus, in the fourth of his Civilia, and Florus, book iv. chap. 7. Add to theſe, Tacitus concerning Curtius Rufus, Annal. xi. which ſame hiſtory is in Pliny, Epiſt. xxvii. book vii. together with another; concerning that which that wiſe and couragious philoſopher Athenodorus ſaw at Athens. And thoſe in Valerius Maximus, book i. c. 8. eſpecially that of Caſſius the Epicuraean, who was frighted with the ſight of Caeſar, whom he killed; which is in Lipſius, book i. chap. 5. of his Warnings. Many ſuch hiſtories are collected by Chryſippus, Plutarch in his book

but alſo heard to ſpeak, as we are told by thoſe hiſtorians who have been far from ſuperſtitious credulity; and by witneſſes in our own age, who lived in Sina, Mexico, and other parts of America. Neither ought we to paſs by that common method (*a*) of examining perſons innocence, by walking over red hot plow-ſhares, viz. Fire Ordeal, mentioned in ſo many hiſtories of the German nation, and in their very laws.

of the Soul, and Numenius in his ſecond book of the Soul's Immortality, mentioned by Origen in his fifth book againſt Celſus.

(*a*) *That common method*, etc.] See the teſtimonies of this matter, collected by Francis Juret, upon the 74th epiſtle of Ivon biſhop of Chartres. Sophocles's Antigone tells us how old this is, where the Theban relations of Oedipus ſpeak thus:

We are prepared to handle red hot iron,
To paſs through fire, or to invoke the gods,
That we are innocent, and did not do it.

Which we learn alſo, from the report of Strabo, book v. and Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, book vii. chap. 2. and Servius upon Virgil's xith Æneid. Alſo thoſe things, which were ſeen of old, in Feronia's grove upon the mountain Soracte. To theſe things, which happened contrary to the common courſe of nature, we may add, I think, thoſe we find made uſe of, to preſerve mens bodies from being wounded by arrows. See alſo the certain teſtimonies, concerning thoſe who have ſpoken after their tongues were cut out upon the account of religion, ſuch as Juſtinian, book i. c. of the Praetorian Office; concerna Praefect in Africa. Procopius in the firſt of his Vandalics. Victor Uticenſis in his book of Perſecutions; and Æneas Gaza in Theophraſtus.

SECT. XVIII. *The Objection, of Miracles not being ſeen now, anſwered.*

NEITHER is there any reaſon, why any one ſhould object againſt what has been ſaid, becauſe no ſuch miracles are now ſeen, nor no ſuch predictions heard. For it is ſufficient to prove a divine providence, that there ever have been ſuch. Which being once eſtabliſhed, it will follow, that we ought to think God almighty forbears them now, for as wiſe and prudent reaſons, as he before did them. Nor is it fit that the laws given to the univerſe, for the natural courſe of things, and that what is future might be uncertain, ſhould always, or without good reaſon, be ſuſpended, but then only, when there was a ſufficient cauſe; as there was at that time, when the worſhip of the true God was baniſhed almoſt out of the world, being confined only to a ſmall corner of it, viz. Judea; and was to be defended from that wickedneſs which ſurrounded it, by frequent aſſiſtance. Or when the Chriſtian religion, concerning which we ſhall afterwards particularly treat, was, by the determination of God, to be ſpread all over the world.

SECT. XIX. *And of there being ſo much Wickedneſs.*

SOME men are apt to doubt of a divine providence, becauſe they ſee ſo much wickedneſs practiſed, that the world is in a manner overwhelmed with it, like a deluge: which they contend ſhould be the buſineſs of divine providence,

if there were any, to hinder or ſuppreſs. But the anſwer to ſuch is very eaſy. When God made man a free agent, and at liberty to do well or ill, reſerving to himſelf alone a neceſſary and immutable goodneſs, it was not fit (*a*) that he ſhould put ſuch a reſtraint upon evil actions, as was inconſiſtent with this liberty. But whatever means of hindering them were not repugnant to ſuch liberty; as eſtabliſhing and promulging a law,

(*a*) *It was not fit*, etc.] Thus Tertullian againſt Marcion ii. "An entire liberty of the will is granted him either way, that he may always appear to be maſter of himſelf, by doing of his own accord that which is good, and avoiding, of his own accord, that which is evil. Becauſe man, who is in other reſpects, ſubject to the determination of God, ought to do that which is juſt, out of the good pleaſure of his own free-will. But neither the wages of that which is good or evil, can juſtly be paid to him who is found to be good or evil out of neceſſity, and not out of choice. And for this reaſon was the law appointed, not to exclude, but to prove liberty, by voluntarily performing obedience to it, or by voluntarily tranſgreſſing it; ſo that in either event the liberty of the will is manifeſt.' And again afterwards. 'Then the conſequence would have been, that God would have withdrawn that liberty, which was once granted to man, that is, would have retained within himſelf his fore-knowlege and exceeding power, whereby he might have interpoſed, to hinder man from falling into danger, by trying to make an ill uſe of his liberty. For if he had interpoſed, he would then have taken away that liberty, which his reaſon and goodneſs had given them.' Origen in his fourth book againſt Celſus handles this matter, as he uſes to do others, very learnedly; where, amongſt other things, he ſays, 'That you deſtroy the nature of virtue, if you take away liberty.'

external and internal warnings, together with threatenings and promiſes; none of theſe were neglected by God: neither would he ſuffer the effects of wickedneſs to ſpread to the furtheſt; ſo that government was never utterly ſubverted, nor the knowlege of the divine laws entirely extinguiſhed. And even thoſe crimes that were permitted, as we hinted before, were not without their advantages, when made uſe of either to puniſh thoſe who were equally wicked, or to chaſtiſe thoſe who were ſlipt out of the way of virtue, or elſe to procure ſome eminent example of patience and conſtancy, in thoſe who had made a great progreſs in virtue. Laſtly, Even they themſelves (*a*), whoſe crimes ſeemed to be overlooked for a time, were for the moſt part puniſhed, with a proportionable puniſhment, that the will of God might be executed againſt them, who acted contrary to his will.

SECT. XX. *And that ſo great, as to oppreſs good Men.*

AND if at any time vice ſhould go unpuniſhed, or, which is wont to offend many weak perſons, ſome good men, oppreſſed by the fury of the wicked, ſhould not only lead a troubleſome life, but alſo undergo an infamous death; we muſt not preſently from hence conclude againſt a divine providence; which, as we have before obſerved, is eſtabliſhed by ſuch ſtrong arguments;

(*a*) *Laſtly, Even they themſelves*, etc.] Concerning this whole matter, ſee the note at ſect. viii.

but rather, with the wiſeſt men, draw this following inference:

SECT. XXI. *This may be turned upon them, ſo as to prove, that Souls ſurvive Bodies.*

THAT ſince God has a regard to human actions, who is himſelf juſt; and yet theſe things come to paſs in the mean time; we ought to expect a judgment after this life, leſt either remarkable wickedneſs ſhould continue unpuniſhed, or eminent virtue go unrewarded and fail of happineſs.

SECT. XXII. *Which is confirmed by Tradition.*

IN order to eſtabliſh this (*a*), we muſt firſt ſhew, that ſouls remain after they are ſeparated from their bodies; which is a moſt antient tradition, derived from our firſt parents, (whence elſe could it come?) to almoſt all civilized people; as appears from Homer's verſes (*b*), and from the philoſophers (*c*), not only the Greek, but alſo the

(*a*) *In order to eſtabliſh this*, etc.] Whoever has a mind to read this argument more largely handled, I refer him to Chryſoſtom on the ſecond Cor. chap. 18. and to his Ethics, tome vi. againſt thoſe who affirm, that human affairs are regulated by daemons: and to his fourth diſcourſe upon Providence.

(*b*) *From Homer's verſes*, etc.] Eſpecially in that part called νεκυΐα, *concerning thoſe that are departed.* To which may be added, the like in Virgil, in Seneca's Oedipus, Lucan, Statius, and that in Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii.

(*c*) *And from the philoſophers*, etc.] Pherecydes, Pythagoras, and Plato, and all the diſciples of them. To theſe Juſtin adds Empedocles, and many oracles in his

antient Gauls, which are called Druids (*a*), and from the Indians called Brachmans (*b*), and from thoſe things which many writers have related, concerning the Egyptians (*c*) and Thracians (*d*),

ſecond Apologetic; and Xenocrates.

(*a*) *Which were called Druids*, etc.] Theſe taught, that ſouls did not die. See Caeſar, book vi. of the war with the Gauls, and Strabo, book iv. of the ſame. 'Theſe and others ſay, that ſouls are incorruptible:' (ſee alſo Lucan, book i. 455.)

(*a*) *And from the Indians called Brachmans*, etc.] Whoſe opinion Strabo explains to us thus, book xv. 'We are to think of this life, as of the ſtate of a child before it be born; and of death, as a birth to that which is truly life and happineſs to wiſe men.' See alſo a remarkable place concerning this matter, in Porphyry's fourth book, againſt eating Living Creatures.

(*b*) *Concerning the Egyptians*, etc.] Herodotus in his Euterpe ſays, that it was the opinion of the Egyptians, 'That the ſoul of man was immortal.' The ſame is reported of them by Diogenes Laertius, in his Preface, and by Tacitus, book v. of his Hiſtory of the Jews. 'They buried rather than burnt their bodies, after the manner of the Egyptians; they having the ſame regard and perſuaſion concerning the dead.' See Diodorus Siculus, concerning the ſoul of Oſiris; and Servius on the ſixth Æneid, moſt of which is taken from the Egyptians.

(*d*) *And Thracians*, etc.] See again here the places of Hermippus, concerning Pythagoras, which we before quoted out of Joſephus. Mela, book ii. concerning the Thracians, ſays, 'Some think, that the ſouls of thoſe who die, return again; others, that though they do not return, yet they do not die, but go to a more happy place.' And Solinus concerning the ſame, chap. x. 'Some of them think, that the ſouls of thoſe who die, return again; others that they do not die, but are made more happy.' Hence aroſe that cuſtom of attending the funerals with great joy, mentioned by theſe writers, and by Valerius Maximus, book i. chap. v. 12. That which we have before quoted out of the ſcholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes, makes

and alſo of the Germans. And moreover, concerning a divine judgment after this life, we find many things extant, not only among the Greeks, but alſo among the Egyptians (*a*) and Indians (*b*), as Strabo, Diogenes Laertius, and Plutarch (*c*) tells us: to which we may add a tradition, that the world ſhould be burnt; which was found of old in Hyſtaſpes (*d*) and the Sibyls, and now alſo in Ovid (*e*), and

this the more credible, viz. that ſome of the Hebrews of old came into Thrace.

(*a*) *But alſo among the Egyptians*, etc.] Diodorus Siculus, book i. ſays, that what Orpheus delivered, concerning ſouls departed, was taken from the Egyptians. Repeat what we now quoted out of Tacitus.

(*b*) *And Indians*, etc.] Amongſt whoſe opinions Strabo, book xv. reckons that 'concerning the judgments that are exerciſed amongſt the ſouls departed.'

(*c*) *And Plutarch*, etc.] Concerning thoſe whoſe puniſhment is deferred by the gods, and concerning the face of the moon's orb. See a famous place of his, quoted by Euſebius, book xi. chap. 38. of his Goſpel Preparation, out of the dialogue concerning the Soul.

(*d*) *In Hyſtaſpes and the Sibyls*, etc.] See Juſtin's ſecond Apologetic, and Clemens, Strom. vi. whence is quoted that from the tragoedian.

For certainly the day will come, 'twill come,
When the bright ſky ſhall from his treaſure ſend
A liquid fire, whoſe all devouring flames,
By laws unbounded, ſhall deſtroy the earth,
And what's above it; all ſhall vaniſh then.
The water of the deep ſhall turn to ſmoke,
The earth ſhall ceaſe to nouriſh trees; the air,
Inſtead of bearing up the birds, ſhall burn.

(*e*) *In Ovid*, etc.] Metamorphoſes, book i.

For he remembred 'twas by fate decreed
To future times, that ſea, and earth, and heav'n
Should burn, and this vaſt frame of nature fail.

Lucan (*a*), and amongſt the Indians in Siam (*b*); a token of which, is the ſun's approaching nearer to the earth, obſerved by aſtronomers (*c*). So likewiſe, upon the firſt going into the Canary Iſlands and America, and other diſtant places, the ſame opinion, concerning ſouls and judgment, was found there.

(*a*) *And Lucan*, etc.] Book i.

So when this frame of nature is diſſolv'd,
And the laſt hour, in future times, approach,
All to its antient chaos ſhall return;
The ſtars confounded tumble into ſea,
The earth refuſe its banks, and try to throw
The ocean off. The moon attack the ſun,
Driving her chariot through the burning ſky,
Enrag'd, and challenging to rule the day.
The order of the world's diſturb'd throughout.

Lucan was preceeded by his uncle Seneca, in the end of his book to Marcia; 'The ſtars ſhall run upon each other; and every thing being on a flame, that which now ſhines regularly, ſhall then burn in one fire.'

(*b*) *The Indians in Siam*, etc.] See Ferdinand Mendeſius.

(*c*) *Obſerved by aſtronomers*, etc.] See Copernicus's Revolutions, book iii. c. 16. Joachim Rhaeticus on Copernicus, and Gemma Friſius. See alſo Ptolemy, book iii. ch. 4. of his Mathematical Syntax. That the world is not now upheld by that power it was formerly, as itſelf declares; 'and that its ruin is evidenced, by the proof, how the things in it fail,' ſays Cyprian to Demetrius. The earth is nearer to the ſun in its Perihelions, that is, when it is in the extreme parts of the leſſer Axis of its Parabala, though the earth always approaches at the ſame diſtances; yet it is manifeſt from hence, that at the will of God, it may approach ſtill nearer, and if it ſo pleaſes him, be ſet on fire by the ſun, as it happens to comets. Le Clerc. 'It were to be wiſhed that the learned remarker had left out this and

SECT. XXIII. *And no way repugnant to Reaſon.*

NEITHER can we find any argument (*a*) drawn from nature, which overthrows this an antient and extenſive tradition: for all thoſe

ſome other notes of this kind, unleſs he had ſtudied ſuch ſort of things more.'

(*a*) *Neither can we find any argument*, etc.] This matter might be handled more exactly, and upon better principles of philoſophy, if our room would allow it. I. We ought to define what we mean by the *death of the ſoul*, which would happen, if either the ſubſtance of the ſoul were reduced to nothing, or if there were ſo great a change made in it, that it were deprived of the uſe of all its faculties. Thus material things are ſaid to be deſtroyed, if either their ſubſtance ceaſes to be, or if their form be ſo altered, that they are no longer of the ſame ſpecies; as when plants are burnt or putrified; the like to which befals brute creatures. II. It cannot be proved, that the ſubſtance of the ſoul periſhes: for bodies are not entirely deſtroyed, but only divided, and their parts ſeparated from each other. Neither can any man prove, that the ſoul ceaſes to think, which is the life of the ſoul, after the death of the man; for it does not follow, that when the body is deſtroyed, the mind is deſtroyed too, it having never yet been proved, that it is a material ſubſtance. III. Nor has the contrary yet been made appear, by certain philoſophic arguments, drawn from the nature of the ſoul; becauſe we are ignorant of it. It is true indeed, that the ſoul is not, by its own nature, reduced to nothing; neither is the body: this muſt be done by the particular act of their Creator. But it may poſſibly be without any thought or memory; which ſtate, as I before ſaid, may be called the death of it. But, IV. If the ſoul, after the diſſolution of the body, ſhould remain for ever in that ſtate, and never return to its thought or memory again, then there can be no account given of divine providence, which has been proved to be, by the foregoing arguments. God's goodneſs and juſtice,

things which ſeem to us to be deſtroyed, are either deſtroyed by the oppoſition of ſomething more powerful than themſelves, as cold is deſtroyed by the greater force of heat: or by taking away the ſubject upon which they depend, as the magnitude of a glaſs, by breaking it; or by the defect of the efficient cauſe, as light by the abſence of the ſun. But none of theſe can be applied to the mind; not the firſt, becauſe nothing can be conceived contrary to the mind; nay, ſuch is the peculiar nature of it, that it is capable equally, and at the ſame time, of contrary things in its own, that is, in an intellectual manner. Not the ſecond, becauſe there is no ſubject upon which the nature of the ſoul depends;

the love of virtue and hatred to vice, which every one acknowleges in him, would be only empty names, if he ſhould confine his benefits to the ſhort and fading good things of this life, and make no diſtinction between virtue and vice; both good and bad men equally periſhing for ever, without ſeeing, in this life, any rewards and puniſhments, diſpenſed to thoſe who have done well or ill: and hereby God would ceaſe to be God, that is, the moſt perfect being; which, if we take away, we cannot give any account of almoſt any other thing, as Grotius has ſufficiently ſhown, by thoſe arguments, whereby he has demonſtrated, that all things were created by God. Since therefore there is a God, who loves virtue and abhors vice, the ſouls of men muſt be immortal, and reſerved for rewards or puniſhments in another life. But this requires further enlargement. Le Clerc. The proof of the ſoul's immortality, drawn from the conſideration of the nature of it, may be ſeen in its full force in Dr. Clarke's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, and the Defences of it.

for if there be any (*a*), it would be a human body; and that it is not ſo, appears from hence, that when the ſtrength of the body fails by action, the mind only does not contract any wearineſs by acting. Alſo the powers (*b*) of the body ſuffer, by the too great power of the things which are the objects of them, as ſight by the light of the ſun. But the mind is rendered (*c*) the more perfect, by how much the more excellent the things are, about which it is converſant; as about figures abſtracted from matter, and about univerſal propoſitions.

(*a*) *For if there were any*, etc.] That there is none, Ariſtotle proves very well from old men, book i. chap. iv. concerning the Soul. Alſo, book iii. chap. iv. he commends Anaxagoras for ſaying, that the mind was ſimple and unmixed, that it might diſtinguiſh other things.

(*b*) *Alſo the powers of the body*, etc.] Ariſtotle, book iii. of the ſoul, ſays, 'That there is not the like weakneſs in the intellectual part, that there is in the ſenſitive, is evident from the organs of ſenſe, and from ſenſation itſelf; for there can be no ſenſation, where the object of ſuch ſenſation is too ſtrong; that is, where the ſound is too loud, there is no ſound; and where the ſmell is too ſtrong, or the colours too bright, they cannot be ſmelt nor ſeen. But the mind, when it conſiders things moſt excellent to the underſtanding, it is not hindered by them from thinking, any more than it is by meaner things, but rather excited by them; becauſe the ſenſitive part cannot be ſeparated from the body, but the mind may.' Add to this, the famous place of Plotinus, quoted by Euſebius, in his Preparation, book xv. c 22. Add alſo, that the mind can overcome thoſe paſſions which ariſe from the body, by its own power; and can chuſe the greateſt pains and even the death of it.

(*c*) *But the mind is rendered*, etc.] And thoſe are the moſt excellent actions of the mind, which call it off moſt from the body.

The powers of the body are exerciſed about thoſe things which are limited by time and place, but the mind, about that which is infinite and eternal. Therefore, ſince the mind, in its operations, does not depend upon the body, ſo neither does its exiſtence depend upon it; for we cannot judge of the nature of thoſe things which we do not ſee, but from their operations. Neither has the third method of being deſtroyed any place here: for there is no efficient cauſe, from which the mind continually flows: not the parents, becauſe the children live after they are dead. If we allow any cauſe at all, from whence the mind flows, it can be no other than the firſt and univerſal cauſe, which, as to its power, can never fail; and as to its will, that that ſhould fail, that is, that God ſhould will the ſoul to be deſtroyed, this can never be proved by any arguments.

SECT. XXIV. *But many Things favour it.*

NAY, there are many, not inconſiderable arguments, for the contrary; ſuch as the abſolute (*a*) power every man has over his own actions; a

(*a*) *The abſolute power every man has over his own actions*, etc.] And over all other living creatures. To which may be added, the knowlege of God, and of immortal beings. 'An immortal creature is not underſtood by any mortal one,' ſays Salluſt the philoſopher. One remarkable token of this knowlege, is, that there is nothing ſo grievous, which the mind will not deſpiſe, for the ſake of God. Beſide, the power of underſtanding and acting, is not limited, as it is in other creatures, but unwearied, and

natural deſire of immortality; the power of conſcience, which comforts him when he has performed any good actions, though never ſo difficult; and, on the contrary, torments him (*a*) when he has done any bad thing; eſpecially at the approach of death, as it were, with a ſenſe of impending judgment; the force of which (*b*) many times could not be extinguiſhed by the worſt of tyrants, though they have endeavoured it never ſo much; as appears by many examples.

extends itſelf infinitely, and is by this means like unto God; which difference of man from other creatures, was taken notice of by Galen.

(*a*) *Torments him when he has done*, etc.] See Plato's firſt book of his Commonwealth: 'When death ſeems to approach any one, fear and ſollicitude comes upon him, about thoſe things which before he did not think of.'

(*b*) *The force of which*, etc.] Witneſs that epiſtle of Tiberius to the ſenate. 'What I ſhould write to you, O ſenators, or how I ſhould write, or what I ſhould not write, at this time, let the gods and goddeſſes deſtroy me worſe than I now feel myſelf to periſh, if I know.' Which words, after Tacitus had recited in the ſixth of his Annals, he adds, 'So far did his crimes and wickedneſs turn to his puniſhment. So true is that aſſertion of the wiſeſt of men, that if the breaſts of tyrants were laid open, we might behold the gnawings and ſtings of them; for, as the body is bruiſed with ſtripes, ſo the mind is torn with rage, and luſt, and evil deſigns.' The perſon which Tacitus here means, is Plato, who ſays of a tyrant, in book ix. of his Commonwealth: 'He would appear to be in reality a beggar, if any one could but ſee into his whole ſoul; full of fears all his life long, full of uneaſineſs and torment.' The ſame philoſopher has ſomething like this in his Gorgias.' Suetonius, chap. 67. being about to recite the foremention-ed epiſtle of Tiberius, introduces it thus. 'At laſt, when he was quite wearied out, in the beginning of ſuch

SECT. XXV. *From whence it follows, that the End of Man is Happineſs after this Life.*

IF then the ſoul be of ſuch a nature, as contains in it no principles of corruption; and God has given us many tokens, by which we ought to underſtand, that his will is, it ſhould remain after the body; there can be no end of man propoſed more worthy of him, than the happineſs of that ſtate; and this is what Plato and the Pythagoreans ſaid, that the end of man (*a*) was to be made moſt like to God. Thus what happineſs is, and how to be ſecured, men may make ſome conjectures; but if there be any thing concerning it, revealed from God, that ought to be eſteemed moſt true and moſt certain.

SECT XXVI. *Which we muſt ſecure, by finding out the true Religion.*

Now, ſince the Chriſtian religion recommends itſelf above all others; whether we ought to give credit to it or no, ſhall be the buſineſs of the ſecond part of this work to examine.

an epiſtle as this, he confeſſes almoſt all his evils.' Claudian had an eye to this place of Plato, when he deſcribes Rufinus in his ſecond poem:

——————— *Stains within*
Deform his breaſt, which bears the ſtamp of vice.

(*a*) *That the end of man was*, etc.] Which the Stoics had from Plato, as Clement remarks, Strom. v.

BIBLIOTECA BODLEIANA

BOOK II.

SECT. I. *That the Chriſtian Religion is true.*

THE deſign then of this ſecond book, (after having put up our petitions to Chriſt the king of heaven, that he would afford us ſuch aſſiſtances of his holy Spirit, as may render us ſufficient for ſo great a buſineſs) is, not to treat particularly of all the opinions in Chriſtianity; but only to ſhow, that the Chriſtian religion itſelf is moſt true and certain; which we attempt thus.

SECT. II. *The Proof that there was ſuch a Perſon as* JESUS.

THAT Jeſus of Nazareth formerly lived in Judea, in the reign of Tiberius the Roman emperor, is conſtantly acknowleged, not only by Chriſtians, diſperſed all over the world, but alſo by all the Jews which now are, or have ever wrote ſince that time; the ſame is alſo teſtified by heathens, that is, ſuch as did not write, either of the Jewiſh, or of the Chriſtian religion, Suetonius (*a*),

(*a*) *Suetonius*, etc.] In his Claudius, chap. 25. where *Chreſto* is put for *Chriſto*, becauſe that name was more known to the Greeks and Latins.

Tacitus (*a*), Pliny the younger (*b*), and many after theſe.

(*a*) *Tacitus*, etc.] Book xv. where he is ſpeaking of the puniſhment of the Chriſtians. 'The author of that name was Chriſt, who, under the reign of Tiberius, ſuffered puniſhment under his procurator Pontius Pilate.' Where the great crimes and hatred to human kind they are charged with, is nothing elſe but their contempt of falſe gods; which ſame reaſon Tacitus had to curſe the Jews; and Pliny the elder, when he calls the Jews 'a people remarkable for contempt of the gods.' That is, very many of the Romans were come to this, that their conſciences were not affected by that part of their theology which was civil, which Seneca commends, but they feigned it in their outward actions, and kept it as a command of the law; looking upon worſhip, as a thing of cuſtom, more than reality. See the opinion of Varro and Seneca about this matter, which is the ſame with that of Tacitus; in Auguſtin, book v. chap. 33. and book vi. ch. 10. of his City of God. In the mean time it is worth obſerving, that Jeſus, who was puniſhed by Pontius Pilate, was acknowleged by many at Rome in Nero's time, to be the Chriſt. Compare that of Juſtin in his ſecond Apologetic concerning this hiſtory; where he addreſſes himſelf to the emperors of the Roman ſenate, who might know thoſe things from the Acts.

(*b*) *Pliny the younger*, etc.] The epiſtle is obvious to every one, *viz.* book x. ep. 97. which Tertullian mentions in his Apologetic, and Euſebius in his Chronicon; where we find, that the Chriſtians were uſed to ſay a hymn to Chriſt as God, and to bind themſelves not to perform any wicked thing, but to forbear commiting theft, robbery, or adultery; to be true to their word, and ſtrictly perform their truſt. Pliny blames their ſtubbornneſs and inflexible obſtinacy in this one thing; that they would not invoke the gods, nor do homage with frankincenſe and wine, before the ſhrines of deities, nor curſe Chriſt, nor could they be compelled to do it by any torments whatſoever. The epiſtle in anſwer to that of Trajan, ſays, that he openly declares him-

That he died an ignominious Death.

THAT the ſame Jeſus was crucified by Pontius Pilate, the preſident of Judea, is acknowleged by all the ſame Chriſtians, notwithſtanding it might ſeem diſhonourable to them who worſhip ſuch a Lord. It is alſo acknowleged (*a*) by the Jews, though they are not ignorant, how much they lie under the diſpleaſure of the Chriſtians, under whoſe government they every where live, upon this account, becauſe their anceſtors were the cauſe of Pilate's doing it. Likewiſe the heathen writers we mentioned, have recorded the ſame to poſterity; and a long time after (*b*), the acts of Pilate were extant, to which the Chriſtians ſometimes appealed. Neither did Julian, or other oppoſers of Chriſtianity, ever call it in queſtion. So that no hiſtory can be imagined more certain than this; which is confirmed by the teſtimonies, I do not ſay of ſo many men, but of ſo many people, which differed from each other.

ſelf to be no Chriſtian, who ſupplicates the Roman gods. Origen in his fourth book againſt Celſus, tells us, there was a certain hiſtory of Jeſus extant in Numenius the Pythagorean.

(*a*) *It is alſo acknowleged*, etc.] Who call him תלוי, that is, *hanged*. Benjaminus Tudelenſis in his Itinerary, acknowleges that Jeſus was ſlain at Jeruſalem.

(*b*) *And a long time after*, etc.] See Epiphanius in his Teſſareſcaedecatitae. (It were better to have omitted this argument, becauſe ſome imprudent Chriſtians might appeal to ſome ſpurious acts; for it does not appear there was any genuine ones. Le Clerc.)

Notwithſtanding which (*a*), we find him worſhipped as Lord, throughout the moſt diſtant countries of the world.

SECT. III. *And yet, after his Death, was worſhipped by wiſe Men.*

AND that, not only in our age, or thoſe immediately foregoing; but alſo, even in the firſt, the age next to that in which it was done, in the reign of the emperor Nero; at which time the forementioned Tacitus, and others, atteſt, that very many were puniſhed becauſe they profeſſed the worſhip of Chriſt.

SECT. IV. *The Cauſe of which could be no other, but thoſe Miracles which were done by him.*

AND there were always very many amongſt the worſhippers of Chriſt, who were men of good judgment, and of no ſmall learning; ſuch as (not to mention Jews) Sergius (*b*) the preſident of Cyprus, Dionyſius the Areopagite (*c*), Polycarp (*d*), Juſtin (*e*), Irenaeus (*f*), Athenago-

(*a*) *Notwithſtanding which*, etc.] Chryſoſtom handles this matter at large, upon 2 Cor. v. 7.

(*b*) *Sergius the preſident*, etc.] Acts xiii. 12.

(*c*) *Dionyſius the Areopagite*, etc.] Acts xvii. 34.

(*d*) *Polycarp*, etc.] Who ſuffered martyrdom in Aſia, in the CLXIXth year of Chriſt, according to Euſebius.

(*e*) *Juſtin*, etc.] Who publiſhed writings in defence of the Chriſtians, in the CXLII year of Chriſt. See the ſame Euſebius.

(*f*) *Irenaeus*, etc.] He flouriſhed at Lyons, in the CLXXXIIId year of Chriſt.

ras (*a*), Origen (*b*), Tertullian (*c*), Clemens Alexandrinus (*d*), and others: who being ſuch men; why they ſhould themſelves be worſhippers of a man that was put to an ignominous death, eſpecially when almoſt all of them were brought up in other religions, and there was neither honour nor profit to be had by the Chriſtian religion; why, I ſay, they ſhould do thus, there can be no reaſon given but this one; that upon a diligent inquiry, ſuch as becomes prudent men to make, in a matter of the higheſt concern to them; they found, that the report which was ſpread abroad, concerning the miracles that were done by him, was true, and founded upon ſufficient teſtimony: ſuch as healing ſore diſeaſes, and thoſe of a long continuance, only by a word, and this publicly; reſtoring ſight to him that was born blind; increaſing bread for the feeding of many thouſands, who were all witneſſes of it; reſtoring the dead to life again, and many other ſuch like.

SECT. V. *Which Miracles cannot be aſcribed to any natural or diabolical Power, but muſt be from God.*

WHICH report had ſo certain and undoubted

(*a*) *Athenagoras*, etc.] This man was an Athenian. He flouriſhed about the CLXXX year of Chriſt, as appears from the inſcription of his book.

(*b*) *Origen*, etc.] He flouriſhed about the CCXXXth year of Chriſt.

(*c*) *Tertullian*, etc.] Who was famous in the CCVIIIth year of Chriſt.

(*d*) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, etc.] About the ſame time. See Euſebius.

a foundation, that neither Celſus (*a*), nor Julian (*b*), when they wrote againſt the Chriſtians, dared not deny, that ſome miracles were done by Chriſt; the Hebrews alſo (*c*) confeſs it openly in the books of the Talmud. That they were not performed by any natural power, ſufficiently appears from hence, that they are called wonders or miracles; nor can it ever be, that grievous diſtempers ſhould be healed immediately, only by a word ſpeaking, or a touch, by the power of nature. If thoſe works could have been accounted for by any natural efficacy, it would have been ſaid ſo at firſt, by thoſe who either profeſſed themſelves enemies of Chriſt when he was upon earth, or of his goſpel. By the like argument we gather, that they were not juggling tricks, becauſe very many of the works were done openly, in the ſight of all the people (*d*); and amongſt whom were many learned men, who bore no good-will to Chriſt, who obſerved all his works. To which we may add; that the like works were often repeated, and the effects were not of a ſhort continuance, but laſting.

(*a*) *Celſus*, etc.] Whoſe words, in book ii. of Origen are: 'You think he is the Son of God, becauſe he healed the lame and the blind.'

(*b*) *Julian*, etc.] Nay, he plainly confeſſes the thing, when he ſays in the words recited by Cyril, book vi. 'Unleſs any one will reckon amongſt the moſt difficult things, healing the lame and the blind, and caſting out devils in Bethſaida and Bethany.'

(*c*) *The Hebrews alſo*, etc.] In the title Abuda Zara.

(*d*) *In the ſight of all the people*, etc.] Acts xxvi. 26. Luke xii.

All which rightly conſidered, as it ought to be, it will plainly follow, according to the Jews own confeſſion, that theſe works were done by ſome power more than human, that is, by ſome good or bad ſpirit: that theſe works were not the effects of any bad ſpirit, is from hence evident, that this doctrine of Chriſt, for the proof of which theſe works were performed, was oppoſite to thoſe evil ſpirits: for it forbids the worſhip of evil ſpirits; it draws men off from all immorality, in which ſuch ſpirits delight. It appears alſo from the things themſelves, that wherever this doctrine has been received, the worſhip of daemons and magical (*a*) arts have ceaſed; and the one God has been worſhipped, with an abhorrence of daemons; whoſe ſtrength and power Porphyry (*b*) acknowleges were broken upon the coming of Chriſt. And it is not at all credible, that any evil ſpirits ſhould be ſo imprudent, as to do thoſe things, and that very often, from which no honour or advantage could ariſe to them, but, on the contrary, great loſs and diſgrace. Neither is it any way conſiſtent with the goodneſs or wiſdom of God, that he ſhould be thought to ſuffer men, who were free from all wicked deſigns, and who feared him, to be de-

(*a*) *Magical arts*, etc.] The books about which, were burnt by the advice of the diſciples of Chriſt, Acts xix. 19.

(*b*) *Porphyry acknowleges*, etc.] The place is in Euſebius's Preparation, book v. chap. 3. 'After Chriſt was worſhipped, no-body experienced any public benefit from the gods.'

deceived by the cunning of devils; and ſuch were the firſt diſciples of Chriſt, as is manifeſt from their unblameable life, and their ſuffering very many calamities for conſcience ſake. If any one ſhould ſay, that theſe works were done by good beings, who yet are inferior to God; this is to confeſs, that they were well-pleaſing to God, and redounded to his honour; becauſe good beings do nothing but what is acceptable to God, and for his glory. Not to mention, that ſome of the works of Chriſt were ſuch as ſeem to declare God himſelf to be the author of them, ſuch as the raiſing more than one of thoſe that were dead to life. Moreover, God neither does, nor ſuffers miracles to be done, without a reaſon; for it does not become a wiſe lawgiver to depart from his laws without a reaſon, and that a weighty one. Now, no other reaſon can be given, why theſe things were done, but that which is alleged by Chriſt, *viz.* to give credit to his doctrine (*a*); nor could they who believed them conceive any other reaſon in their minds: amongſt whom, ſince there were many of a pious diſpoſition, as was ſaid before, it would be profane to think

(*a*) *To give credit to his doctrine*, etc.] We may add, that the event itſelf, in that ſo great a part of mankind embraced the Chriſtian religion, ſhews that it was a thing ſo worthy of God, as for him to confirm it with miracles at the beginning. If he did ſo many, for the ſake of one nation, and that no very great one, I mean the Jewiſh; how much more agreeable to his goodneſs was it, to beſtow this heavenly light, to ſo great a part of mankind, who lay in the thickeſt darkneſs? Le Clerc.

God ſhould do them to impoſe upon ſuch. And this was the ſole reaſon why many of the Jews, who lived near the time of Jeſus, who yet could not be brought (*a*) to depart from any thing of the law given by Moſes, (ſuch as they who were called Nazarens and Ebionites,) nevertheleſs owned Jeſus to be a teacher ſent from heaven.

SECT. VI. *The Reſurrection of Chriſt proved from credible Teſtimony.*

CHRIST's coming to life again in a wonderful manner, after his crucifixion, death, and burial, affords us no leſs ſtrong an argument for thoſe miracles that were done by him. For the Chriſtians of all times and places aſſert this not only for a truth, but as the principal foundation of their faith: which could not be, unleſs they who firſt taught the Chriſtian faith, had fully perſuaded their hearers, that the thing did come to paſs. Now, they could not fully perſuade men of any judgment of this, unleſs they affirmed them-

(*a*) *Who yet could not be brought*, etc.] See Acts xv. Rom. xiv. Jerom in the Euſebian Chronicon, for the year of Chriſt CXXV, after he had named fifteen Chriſtian biſhops of Jeruſalem, adds, 'Theſe were all biſhops of the circumciſion, who governed till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, under the emperor Adrian.' Severus Sulpitius, concerning the Chriſtians of thoſe times and places, ſays, 'They believed Chriſt to be God, whilſt they obſerved alſo the law; and the church had a prieſt out of thoſe of the circumciſion.' See Epiphanius, where he treats of the Nazarens and Ebionites. Nazarens was a name not for any particular part, but all the Chriſtians in Paleſtine were ſo called, becauſe their maſter was a Nazarene.

ſelves to be eye-witneſſes of it; for, without ſuch an affirmation, no man, in his ſenſes, would have believed them, eſpecially at that time when ſuch a belief was attended with ſo many evils and dangers. That this was affirmed by them with great conſtancy, their own books, and the books of others (*a*), tell us; nay, it appears from thoſe books, that they appealed to five hundred witneſſes (*b*), who ſaw Jeſus after he was riſen from the dead. Now, it is not uſual for thoſe that ſpeak untruths, to appeal to ſo many witneſſes. Nor is it poſſible ſo many men ſhould agree to bear a falſe teſtimony. And if there had been no other witneſſes, but thoſe twelve known firſt propagators of the Chriſtian doctrine, it had been ſufficient. No-body has any ill deſign for nothing. They could not hope for any honour from ſaying what was not true, becauſe all the honours were in the power of the heathens and Jews, by whom they were reproached and contemptuouſly treated; nor for riches, becauſe, on the contrary, this profeſſion was often attended with the loſs of their goods, if they had any; and if it had been otherwiſe, yet the goſpel could not have been taught by them, but with the ne-

(*a*) *And the books of others*, etc.] Even of Celſus, who wrote againſt the Chriſtians. See Origen, book ii.

(*b*) *Five hundred witneſſes*, etc.] Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 6. He ſays, ſome of them were dead at that time, but their children and friends were alive, who might be hearkened to, and teſtify what they had heard. But the greater part of them were alive when Paul wrote this. This appearance was in a mountain in Galilee.

gleſt of their temporal goods. Nor could any other advantages of this life provoke them to ſpeak a falſity, when the very preaching of the goſpel expoſed them to hardſhip, to hunger and thirſt, to ſtripes and impriſonment. Fame, amongſt themſelves only, was not ſo great, that, for the ſake thereof, men of upright intentions, whoſe lives and tenets were free from pride and ambition, ſhould undergo ſo many evils. Nor had they any ground to hope, that their opinion, which was ſo repugnant to nature, (which is wholly bent upon its own advantages,) and to the authority which every where governed, could make ſo great a progreſs, but from a divine promiſe. Further, they could not promiſe to themſelves, that this fame, whatever it was, would be laſting; becauſe, (God on purpoſe concealing his intention, in this matter, from them) they expected that the end of the whole world (*a*) was juſt at hand, as is plain from their own writings, and thoſe of the Chriſtians that came after them. It remains, therefore, that they muſt be ſaid to have uttered a falſity, for the ſake of defending their religion; which, if we conſider the thing aright, can never be ſaid of them; for either they believed from their heart, that their religion was true, or they did not believe it. If they had not

(a) *The end of the whole world*, etc.] See 1 Theſſ. iv. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xv. 52. Tertullian of having but one Wife: 'Now the time is very ſhort.' Jerom to Gerontias: 'What is that to us upon whom the ends of the world are come?

believed it to have been the beſt, they would never have choſen it from all other religions, which were more ſafe and honourable. Nay, though they believed it to be true, they would not have made profeſſion of it, unleſs they had believed ſuch a profeſſion neceſſary; eſpecially when they could eaſily foreſee, and they quickly learnt by experience, that ſuch a profeſſion would be attended with the death of a vaſt number; and they would have been guilty of the higheſt wickedneſs, to have given ſuch occaſion, without a juſt reaſon. If they believed their religion to be true, nay, that it was the beſt, and ought to be profeſſed by all means, and this after the death of their maſter; it was impoſſible this ſhould be, if their maſter's promiſe concerning his reſurrection had failed them; for this had been ſufficient (*a*) to any man in his ſenſes, to have overthrown that belief which he had before entertained. Again, all religion, but particularly the Chriſtian religion, forbids lying and falſe witneſs (*b*), eſpecially in divine matters: they could not therefore be moved to tell a lye out of love to religion, eſpecially ſuch a religion. To all which may be added, that they were men who led ſuch a life, as was not blamed even by

(*a*) *For this had been ſufficient*, etc.] Chryſoſtom handles this argument at large, upon 1 Cor. i. towards the end.

(*b*) *Lying and falſe witneſs*, etc.] Matth. xii. 36. John viii. 44, 55. Eph. iv. 25. Rom. ix. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 19. xi. 31. Gal. i. 20. Col. iii. 9. 1 Tim. i. 10. and ii. 7. Jam. iii. 14. Mat. xxii. 16. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 21. John xiv. 16. Eph. v. 9. and elſewhere.

their adverſaries; and who had no objection againſt them but only their ſimplicity (*a*), the nature of which is the moſt diſtant that can be from forging a lye. And there was none of them who did not undergo even the moſt grievous things for their profeſſion of the reſurrection of Jeſus. Many of them endured the moſt exquiſite death for this teſtimony. Now, ſuppoſe it poſſible, that any man, in his wits, could undergo ſuch things for an opinion he had entertained in his mind; yet for a falſity, and which is known to be a falſity; that not only one man, but very many, ſhould be willing to endure ſuch hardſhips, is a thing plainly incredible. And that they were not mad, both their lives and their writings ſufficiently teſtify. What has been ſaid of theſe firſt, the ſame may alſo be ſaid of Paul, who openly declared (*b*), that he ſaw Chriſt reigning in heaven; and he did not want the (*c*) learning of the Jews, but had great proſpect of honour, if he had trod the paths of his fathers. But on the contrary, he thought it his duty, for this profeſſion, to expoſe himſelf to the hatred

(*a*) *But only their ſimplicity*, etc.] Even Celſus. See Origen, book i.

(*b*) *Who openly declared*, etc.] 1 Cor. xv. 9. 2 Cor. xii. 4. Add to this what Luke the diſciple of Paul writes, Acts ix. 4, 5, 6. and xxii. 6, 7, 8.

(*c*) *And he did not want the learning*, etc.] Acts xxii. 3. There were two Gamaliels, famous amongſt the Hebrews on account of their learning: Paul was the diſciple of one of them, who was very ſkilful, not only in the law, but alſo in theſe things that were delivered by the doctors. See Epiphanius.

of his relations; and to undertake difficult, dangerous, and troubleſome voyages all over the world, and at laſt to ſuffer an ignominious death.

SECT. VII. *The Objection, drawn from the ſeeming Impoſſibility of a Reſurrection, anſwered.*

INDEED, no-body can withſtand the credibility of ſo many and ſo great teſtimonies, without ſaying, that a thing of this nature is impoſſible to be, ſuch as we ſay all things that imply a contradiction are. But this cannot be ſaid of it (*a*). It might indeed; if any one ſhould affirm, that the ſame perſon was alive and dead at the ſame time: but that a dead man ſhould be reſtored to life, by the power of him who firſt gave life to man, there is no reaſon (*b*) why this ſhould be thought impoſſible. Neither did wiſe men be-

(*a*) *But this cannot be ſaid of it*, etc,] See the ſeventh anſwer to the objections concerning the reſurrection, in the works of Juſtin. 'An impoſſibility in itſelf is one thing, and an impoſſibility in any particular is another; an impoſſibility in itſelf is, that the diagonal of a ſquare ſhould be commenſurate with the ſide; a particular impoſſibility is, that nature ſhould produce an animal without ſeed. To which of theſe two kinds of impoſſibles do unbelievers compare the reſurrection? if to the firſt, their reaſoning is falſe; for a new creation is not like making the diagonal commenſurate with the ſide; but they that riſe again, riſe by a new creation. If they mean a particular impoſſibility; ſurely all things are poſſible with God, though they may be impoſſible to any elſe.' Concerning this difference of impoſſibilities, ſee the learned notes of Maimonides, in his Guide to the Doubting, part iii. chap. 15.

(*b*) *There is no reaſon why*, etc.] All thoſe who are ſkilful in the true philoſophy ac-

lieve it to be impoſſible: for Plato relates it of Er the Armenian (*a*); Heraclides Ponticus (*b*), of a certain woman; Herodotus (*c*), of Ariſtaeus; and Plutarch (*d*), out of another; which, whe-

knowlege, that it is as hard to underſtand, how the foetus is formed in the mother's womb, as how the dead ſhould be raiſed to life. But ignorant men are not at all ſurprized at the things which they commonly ſee; nor do they account them difficult, though they know not the reaſon of them: but they think thoſe things, which they never ſaw, are impoſſible to be done, though they are not at all more difficult than thoſe things they ſee every day. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *Er the Armenian*, etc.] The place of Plato concerning this matter is extant in his tenth book of Republics, tranſcribed by Euſebius, in his Goſpel Preparation, book xi. chap. 35. The report of which hiſtory is in Valerius Maximus, book i. chap. 8. the firſt foreign example. In the Hortatory Diſcourſe among the works of Juſtin; in Clemens, Strom. v. in Origen, book ii. againſt Celſus; in Plutarch Sympoſiac. ix. 5. and in Macrobius, in the beginning upon Scipio's dream.

(*b*) *Heraclides Ponticus*, etc.] There was a book of his concerning the Dead, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, in his Preface, and in his Empedocles; and by Galen in the ſixth concerning the parts that are affected. Pliny ſpeaks thus of him, book vii. chap. 32. 'That noble volume of Heraclides amongſt the Greeks, of a woman's being reſtored to life, after ſhe had been dead ſeven days.' And Diogenes Laertius, in the latter place, aſſigns her thirty days.

(*c*) *Herodotus*, etc.] In his Melpomene. See Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, book vii. chap. 52. Plutarch's Romulus, and Heſychius concerning the Philoſophers.

(*d*) *Plutarch*, etc.] Of Theſpeſius. Plutarch has this, in his Diſcourſe of God's deferring Puniſhment. And Antyllus, concerning whom Euſebius has preſerved that place of Plutarch, from his firſt book of the Soul, in his Preparation, book xi. chap. 38. and Theodoret, Serm. xi.

ther they were true or falſe, ſhows the opinion of learned men concerning the poſſibility of the thing.

The Truth of Jeſus's Doctrine, proved from his Reſurrection.

IF it be not impoſſible, that Chriſt ſhould return to life again, and if it be proved from ſufficient teſtimonies, ſuch as convinced Bechai (*a*) a teacher of the Jews, ſo far as to acknowlege the truth of it; and Chriſt himſelf (as both his own diſciples and ſtrangers confeſs) declared a new doctrine as by a divine command; it will certainly follow, that this doctrine is true; becauſe it is repugnant to the juſtice and wiſdom of God to beſtow ſuch endowments upon him, who had been guilty of a falſity, in a matter of ſo great moment. Eſpecially when he had, before his death, declared to his diſciples that he ſhould die, and what manner of death: and alſo that he ſhould return to life again; and that theſe things ſhould therefore come to paſs, that they might confirm the truth of his doctrine.

SECT. VIII. *That the Chriſtian Religion exceeds all others.*

THESE arguments are drawn from matters of

(*a*) *Bechai*, etc.] It were to be wiſhed that Grotius had quoted the place; for though his reaſoning drawn from the reſurrection of Chriſt, does not want the approbation of R. Bechai, yet perhaps the Jews might be affected with his authority. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *And that theſe things*, etc.] See John xvii. Luke xxiv. 46, 47.

fact; we come now to thoſe which are drawn from the nature of the doctrine. Certainly all manner of worſhip of God muſt be rejected; (which can never enter into any man's mind, who has any ſenſe of the exiſtence of God, and of his government of the creation; and who conſiders the excellency of man's underſtanding, and the power of chuſing moral good or evil, with which he is endued; and conſequently that the cauſe, as of reward, ſo of puniſhment, is in himſelf;) or elſe he muſt receive this religion, not only upon the teſtimony of the facts, which we have now treated of; but likewiſe for the ſake of thoſe things that are intrinſical in religion; ſince there cannot be any produced, in any age or nation, whoſe rewards are more excellent, or whoſe precepts are more perfect, or the method in which it was commanded to be propagated more wonderful.

SECT. IX. *The Excellency of the Reward propoſed.*

To begin with the reward, that is, with the end propoſed to man; becauſe, as we are uſed to ſay, that which is the laſt in execution, is the firſt in intention; Moſes (*a*), in his inſtitution of the Jewiſh religion, if we regard the expreſs condition of the law, made no promiſes beyond the good things of this life; ſuch as a fruitful land, abundance of riches, victory over their enemies, long life and health, and hope of their poſteri-

(*a*) *Moſes, in his inſtitution*, etc.] Deut. xi. and xxviii. Heb. viii. 6.

ties ſurviving them. And if there be any thing more, it is only obſcurely hinted, and muſt be collected from wiſe and ſtrong arguing; which is the reaſon why many who profeſſed to follow the law of Moſes, as the Sadducees (*a*), caſt off all hope of enjoying any good after this life. The Greeks who derived their learning from the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and who had ſome hope of another life after this, ſpoke very doubtfully (*b*) concerning it, as is evident from the diſputes of Socrates (*c*), and from the writings of Tully (*d*),

(*a*) *As the Sadducees*, etc.] Matth. xxii. 23. Luke in Acts xxiii. 8. Joſephus: 'TheSadducees argue, that the ſoul periſhes with the body.' And in another place, 'They deny the ſoul's immortality, and rewards and puniſhments in another life.' Jerom ſays of them, 'that they believe the ſoul periſhes with the body.'

(*b*) *Spoke very doubtfully*, etc.] This is obſerved by Chryſoſtom, on 1 Cor. i. 25.

(*c*) *From the diſputes of Socrates*, etc.] In Plato's Phaedon. 'Now, I would have you to underſtand, that I hope to go amongſt good men; but I will not be too poſitive in affirming it.' And afterwards, 'If thoſe things I am ſpeaking of ſhould prove true, it is very well to be thus perſuaded concerning them; but if there be nothing after death, yet I ſhall always be the leſs concerned for the preſent things of this life; and this my ignorance will not continue long, for that would be bad, but will ſhortly vaniſh.' And Tertullian concerning the ſoul. 'From ſuch a firm ſteddineſs and goodneſs of mind, did that wiſdom of Socrates proceed, and not from any certain diſcovery of the truth.' The ſame is obſerved of Socrates, in the Exhortation among the works of Juſtin.

(*d*) *Tully*, etc.] In his firſt Tuſculan Queſtion. 'Shew me firſt, if you can, and it be not too troubleſome, that ſouls remain after death; or if you cannot prove this, for it is difficult, declare how

Seneca (*a*), and others (*b*). And though they ſearched diligently for arguments to prove it, they could offer nothing of certainty. For thoſe which they allege, hold generally as ſtrong for beaſts as they do for men (*c*). Which, when ſome of them conſidered, it is no wonder that they imagined that ſouls paſſed out of men into beaſts (*d*), and out of beaſts into men. Again, becauſe this could not be proved by any teſtimonies, nor by any certain arguments, and yet it could not be denied but that there muſt be ſome end propoſed for man; therefore others were led

there is no evil in death.' And a little after. 'I know not what mighty thing they have got by it, who teach, that when the time of death comes, they ſhall entirely periſh; which, if it ſhould be, for I do not ſay any thing to the contrary, what ground of joy or glorying does it afford?' And again, 'Now, ſuppoſe the ſoul ſhould periſh with the body, can there be any pain, or can there be any ſenſe at all in the body after death? No-body will ſay ſo.' Lactantius, book vii. chap. 8. cites the following paſſage out of the ſame Cicero, ſpoken after a diſpute about the ſoul: 'Which of theſe opinions is true, God only knows.'

(*a*) *Seneca*, etc.] Epiſtle lxiv. 'And perhaps, if the report of wiſe men be true, any place receives us, and that which we think periſhes, is only ſent before.'

(*b*) *And others*, etc.] Juſtin Martyr ſays in general, in his Dialogue with Trypho: 'The philoſophers knew nothing of theſe things, nor can they tell what the ſoul is.'

(*c*) *Hold generally as ſtrong for beaſts*, etc.] As that argument of Socrates to Plato, that 'that which moves of itſelf is eternal.' See Lactantius in the forementioned place.

(*d*) *Paſſed out of men into beaſts*, etc.] As the Brachmans of old, and now alſo; from whom Pythagoras and his ſcholars had it.

to ſay, that virtue was its own reward (*a*), and that a wiſe man was very happy, though in Phalaris's bull. But others diſliked this, and not without reaſon; for they ſaw very well, that happineſs, eſpecially in the higheſt degree (unleſs we regard only the ſound of words, without any meaning) could not conſiſt (*b*) in that which is attended with danger, loſs, torment, and death: and therefore they placed the chief good and end of man, in ſenſual pleaſure. And this opinion likewiſe was ſolidly confuted by very many, as a thing which overthrew all virtue, the ſeeds of which are planted in the mind; and degraded man, who was made for nobler purpoſes, to the rank of brute creatures, who look no further than the earth. In ſo many doubts and uncertainties

(*a*) *That virtue was its own reward*, etc.] See Tully's ſecond Tuſculan Queſtion. And Lactantius' Inſtitutions, book iii. chap. 27. where he ſtrenuouſly diſputes againſt this opinion; and Auguſtin, Epiſtle iii.

(*b*) *Conſiſt in that*, etc.] Lactantius, book iii. ch. 12. 'Virtue is not its own happineſs, becauſe the whole power of it conſiſts, as I ſaid, in bearing evils. And a little after, when he had quoted a place of Seneca's, he adds: 'But the Stoics, whom he follows, deny that any one can be happy without virtue. Therefore the reward of virtue is a happy life; if virtue, as is rightly ſaid, makes life happy. Virtue, therefore, is not to be deſired for its own ſake, as they affirm, but for the ſake of a happy life, which neceſſarily attends virtue: which argument might inſtruct them what is the chief good. But this preſent bodily life cannot be happy, becauſe it is ſubject to evils, by means of the body.' Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, book vii. chap. 7. ſays well, 'That no mortal man is happy.'

did mankind at that time wander, till Chriſt diſcovered the true knowlege of their end; promiſing to his diſciples and followers another life after this, in which there ſhould be no more death, pain, or ſorrow, but accompanied with the higheſt joy; and this not only to one part of man, that is, his ſoul, of whoſe happineſs after this life there was ſome hope, partly from conjecture, and partly from tradition; but alſo to the body, and that very juſtly, that the body which oftentimes ought to endure great loſſes, torments, and death, for the ſake of the divine law, might not go without a recompence. And the joys which are promiſed are not ſuch mean things as thoſe feaſts (*a*), which the duller Jews hoped for after this life, and the embraces (*b*) which the Mahometans promiſe to themſelves; for theſe are only proper remedies for the mortality of this frail life; the former for the preſervation of particular animals, and the latter for the continuance of their ſpecies: but the body will be in a perpetual vigour, and its brightneſs will exceed the ſtars. The mind will have a knowlege of God, and of divine providence, and of whatever is now hidden from it, without any miſtake: the will will be calm, employed in wonder and praiſes, in beholding God; in a word, all things will be much greater and better than can be conceived by comparing them with the greateſt and beſt here.

(*a*) *As thoſe feaſts*, etc.] The places are quoted beneath, in the fifth book.

(*b*) *And the embraces*, etc.] See the Alcoran Azoara, ii, v, xlvii, liv, lxv, lxvi.

SECT. X. *A Solution of the Objection, taken from hence, that the Bodies after their Diſſolution cannot be reſtored.*

BESIDES the objection which we have now anſwered, it is commonly alleged, that the bodies of men, after their diſſolution, cannot be reſtored to the ſame frame again; but this is ſaid without the leaſt foundation. For moſt philoſophers agree (*a*), that though the things be never ſo much changed, the matter of them ſtill remains capable of being formed into different ſhapes; and who will affirm, that God does not know in what places, though never ſo far diſtant, the parts of that matter are which goes to the making up of a human body? or, that he has not power to bring them back and reunite them; and do the ſame in the univerſe, that we ſee

(*a*) *For moſt philoſophers agree*, etc.] If any one be not ſatisfied with this account of Grotius, he may be anſwered, that it is not at all neceſſary, that the matter which is raiſed ſhould be numerically the ſame, with that which the dying man carried to the grave with him: for he will be as much the ſame man, though his ſoul were joined to matter, which it was never before joined to, provided it be the ſame ſoul; as a decrepid old man is the ſame as he was when a child crying in the cradle, though perhaps there is not, in the old man, one particle of that matter there was in the infant, by reaſon of the continual effluvia which fly from the body. It may very well be called *a reſurrection of the body*, when a like one is formed by God out of the earth, and joined to the mind; therefore there is no need of reducing ourſelves to ſo great ſtreights, in order to defend too ſtiffly the *ſameneſs* of the matter. Le Clerc.

chymiſts do in their furnaces and veſſels, collect thoſe particles which are of the ſame kind, tho' ſeparated from one another? And there are examples in nature, which ſhow, that though the ſhape of things be never ſo much changed, yet the things themſelves return to their original form; as in ſeeds of trees and plants. Neither is that knot, which is objected by ſo many, ſuch as cannot be looſed, *viz.* concerning human bodies paſſing into nouriſhment of wild beaſts and cattle; who, after they are thus fed, are eaten again by men. For the greateſt part of what is eaten by us is not converted into any part of our body, but goes into excrements or ſuperfluities, ſuch as ſpittle and choler: and much of that, which has nouriſhment in it, is conſumed by diſeaſes, internal heat, and the ambient air. Which being thus; God, who takes ſuch care of all kinds, even of dumb creatures, may have ſuch a particular regard to human bodies, that if any part of them ſhould come to be food for other men, it ſhould no more be converted into their ſubſtance than poiſon or phyſic is; and ſo much the rather, becauſe human fleſh was not given to be food for men. And, if it were otherwiſe, and that ſomething which does not belong to the latter body, muſt be taken from it, this will not make it a different body; for there happens a greater change (*a*) of its par-

(*a*) *For there happens a greater change*, etc.] See Alfenus, in *l. Proponebatur, D. de Judiciis.* 'If any one ſhould think that by altering the parts, any thing is made dif-

ticles in this life: nay, a butterfly (*a*) is contained in a worm; and the ſubſtance of herbs or of

ferent from what it was before: according to ſuch reaſoning, we ourſelves ſhould be different from what we were a year ſince: becauſe, as philoſophers ſay, thoſe ſmall parts, of which we conſiſt, continually fly off from our bodies, and other foreign ones come in their room.' And Seneca, ep. lviii. 'Our bodies are in a continual flux, like a river; all that we ſee runs away as time does: none of thoſe things we ſee are durable. I myſelf am changed while I am ſpeaking of their change.' See Methodius's excellent Diſſertation upon this ſubject, whoſe words Epiphanius has preſerved in his Confutation of the Origeniſts, Num. xii, xiii, xiv, xv.

(*a*) *Nay, a butterfly*, etc.] See Ovid in the laſt book of his Metamorphoſis.

Wild moths, a thing by countrymen obſerv'd,
Betwixt the leaves in tender threads involv'd,
Transform their ſhape into a butterfly.

We may add ſomething out of Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, book x. ch. 5. concerning Frogs: he ſays, 'For half a year of their life, they are turned into mud, and cannot be ſeen; and by the waters in the ſpring, thoſe which were formerly bred are bred again afreſh.' And in the ſame book, ch. 9. 'The Cuckow ſeems to be made of a hawk, changing his ſhape in the time of year.' And book xi. chap. 20. 'There are who think that ſome creatures which are dead, if they be kept in the houſe in winter, will come to life again, after the ſun ſhines hot upon them in the ſpring, and they be kept warm all day in wood aſhes.' And again, ch. 23. ſpeaking of ſilk-worms, 'another original of them may be from a larger ſort of worm, which ſhoots forth a double kind of horns; theſe are called canker-worms, and afterwards become what they call the humble bee; from whence comes another ſort of inſect, termed Necydalus, which, in ſix months time, turns into a ſilk-worm.' And again, chap. 23. ſpeaking of the ſilk-worm of Coos, he ſays, 'They were firſt ſmall

wine, in ſome very little thing (*a*), from whence they are again reſtored to their true bigneſs. Certainly, ſince theſe, and many other ſuch like ſuppoſitions, may be made without any abſurdity; there is no reaſon why the reſtoring of a body, after it is diſſolved, ſhould be reckoned amongſt the things that are impoſſible: eſpecially ſince learned men, ſuch as Zoroaſter (*b*) among the Chaldaeans, almoſt all the Stoics (*c*), and The-

and naked butterflies.' And ch. 26. concerning the Graſhopper; 'It is firſt a ſmall worm, but afterwards comes out of what they call Tettygometra, whoſe ſhell being broke, they fly away about mid-ſummer.' Chap. 30. 'Flies drowned in liquor, if they be buried in aſhes, return to life again.' And chap. 32. Many inſects are bred in another manner. And firſt the horſe-fly, out of the dew: in the beginning of the ſpring it ſticks to a radiſh-leaf, and being ſtiffened by the ſun, it gathers into the bigneſs of a millet: out of this ſprings a ſmall worm, and, in three days after, a canker-worm, which increaſes in a few days, having a hard ſhell about it, and moves at the touch of a ſpider; this canker-worm, which they call a Chryſalis, when the ſhell is broken, flies away a butterfly.'

(*a*) *In ſome very little thing*, etc.] If Grotius had lived till our days, he would have ſpoke more fully; ſince it is evident, that all animals of whatever kind ſpring from an egg, in which they are formed, as all plants do from ſeeds, though never ſo ſmall. But this is nothing to the reſurrection, for bodies will not riſe again out of ſuch principles. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *Such as Zoroaſter*, etc.] See Clemens, Strom. v.

(*c*) *Almoſt all the Stoics*, etc.] Clemens, Strom. v. 'He [Heraclitus] knew, having learnt it from the Barbarian philoſophy, that men who lived wickedly ſhould be purified by fire, which the Stoics call ἐκπύρωσιν, whereby they imagine every one ſhall riſe again ſuch an one as he real-

opompus (*a*) among the Peripatetics, believed that it could be, and that it would be.

SECT. XI. *The exceeding Purity of its Precepts; with reſpect to the Worſhip of God.*

ANOTHER thing, in which the Chriſtian religion exceeds all other religions that ever were, are, or can be imagined, is the exceeding purity and holineſs of its precepts, both in thoſe things which concern the worſhip of God, and alſo in all other particulars. The rites of the heathens, almoſt all over the world, were full of cruelty; as Porphyry (*b*) has largely ſhown; and as we are convinced by thoſe in our age, who have ſailed to thoſe places. For it is an eſtabliſhed

ly is: thus they treat of the reſurrection.' And Origen, book iv. againſt Celſus, 'The Stoics ſay, that after a certain period of time, the univerſe ſhall be burnt, and after that ſhall be a renovation, in which all things ſhall continue unchangeable.' And afterwards, 'They have not the name of the reſurrection, but they have the thing.' Origen here adds the Egyptians. Chryſippus concerning Providence, quoted by Lactantius, book vi. of his Inſtitutions, has theſe words, 'Which being thus, there is evidently no impoſſibility, but that we alſo, when we are dead, after a certain period of time is paſt, may be reſtored again to the ſame ſtate in which we now are.' He that is at leiſure may look into Nathaniel Carpenter's ſixteenth Exerciſe of free Philoſophy.

(*a*) *And Theopompus*, etc.] Concerning whom, ſee Diogenes Laertius in the beginning of his book. 'And Theopompus, in his eighth Philippic, relates, as the opinion of the wiſe men, that men ſhall live again, and become immortal, and every thing ſhall continue what it is.'

(*b*) *As Porphyry*, etc.] In his book prohibiting eating Living Creatures; whence Cyril took many things, in his fourth againſt Julian.

principle, almoſt every where, that the gods are to be pacified with human blood; which cuſtom neither the Greek learning, nor the Roman laws, aboliſhed: as appears from what we read concerning ſacrifices offered up to Bacchus Omeſta (*a*), amongſt the Greeks; concerning a Grecian man and a Grecian woman, and concerning a man and a woman amongſt the Gauls (*b*), that were

(*a*) *Sacrifices offered up to Bacchus*, etc.] Plutarch mentions them in his Themiſtocles, and alſo Pauſanias. The like rites of the Meſſenians, Pellaeans, Lictyans in Crete, Leſbians, Phocaeenſians, you have in the Hortatory Diſcourſe in Clemens.

(*b*) *A man and woman amongſt the Gauls*, etc.] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis tells us in his firſt book, that it was a very antient cuſtom in Italy to ſacrifice men. How long it remained, Pliny ſays, book xxviii. chap. 1. 'Our age hath ſeen in the beaſt market, a Graecian man and woman ſlain, or thoſe of ſome other nation with whom they dealt.' This cuſtom remained till Juſtin's and Tatian's time: for Juſtin, in his firſt Apologetic, addreſſes the Romans thus: 'That idol which you worſhip; to whom not only the blood of irrational creatures is poured out, but alſo human blood; which blood of ſlain men is poured out by the moſt noble and eminent perſon among you.' And Tatian: 'I find among the Romans, that Jupiter Latialis was delighted with human blood; and with that which flows from men that are ſlain.' Porphyry tells us, that theſe rites remained till Adrian's time. That there was a very antient cuſtom amongſt the Gauls, of offering human ſacrifices, we learn from Tully's Oration in defence of M. Fonteius; and out of Plutarch, concerning Superſtition. Tiberius aboliſhed it, as we find in Pliny, book xxx. ch. 1. See the ſame Pliny there, concerning the Britons, and Dion in Nero, and Solinus; alſo Hermoldus concerning the Sclavonians, book i. chap. 3. Porphyry in his ſecond book againſt eating Living Creatures, ſays, that it remained till his time,

ſacrificed to Jupiter Latialis. And the moſt holy myſteries both of Ceres and Bacchus were full of lewdneſs; as was plain when once the ſecrets of their religion began to be publicly diſcovered; as is at large declared by Clemens Alexandrinus (*a*), and others (*b*). And there was ſuch ſights ſhown upon thoſe days, that were conſecrated to the honour of their gods, that Cato (*c*) was aſhamed to be preſent at them. In the Jewiſh religion, indeed, there was nothing unlawful or immoral; but to prevent that people, who were prone to idolatry (*d*), from revolting from the true religion, it was burdened with many precepts, concerning things that were in themſelves neither good nor bad: ſuch as the ſacrifices of beaſts, circumciſion, ſtrict reſt on the ſabbath day, and the forbidding many ſorts of meats; ſome of which the Mahometans have borrowed, and added to them a prohibition of wine. But the Chriſtian religion teaches us to worſhip God, who is a moſt holy Being, with a pure mind (*e*), and with ſuch actions (*f*), as are in their own

in Arcadia, and Carthage, and in the great city, that is, Rome, where he inſtances in the rite of Jupiter Latialis.

(*a*) *Clem. Alexandrinus*, etc.] In his Hortatory Diſcourſe.

(*b*) *And others*, etc.] Eſpecially Arnobius.

(*c*) *That Cato was aſhamed*, etc.] See Martial in the beginning of his Epigrams. Gellius x. 13. and Valerius Maximus, book xi. chap. 10.

(*d*) *Who were prone to idolatry*, etc.] This is the reaſon given for ſuch precepts by Maimonides, whom Joſephus Albo follows.

(*e*) *With a pure mind*, etc.] John iv. 24.

(*f*) *And with ſuch actions*, etc.] Whence it is called a reaſonable ſervice, Rom. xii. 1. Phil. iv. 8.

nature virtuous, if they had not been commanded. Thus it does not bid us to circumcise our flesh (*a*), but our desires and affections; not to abstain from all sorts of works (*b*), but only from all such as are unlawful: not to offer the blood and fat of beasts in sacrifice to God; but, if there be a just occasion, to offer our own blood (*c*) for a testimony of the truth; and whatever share (*d*) of our goods we give to the poor, we are to look upon as given to God: not to forbear certain kinds of meat or drink, but to use both of them (*e*) with such temperance, as may most secure our health; and sometimes by fasting (*f*) to render our bodies more subservient to the mind; that it may, with more freedom, advance itself towards higher objects. But the chief part of religion is every where declared to consist in such a godly faith (*g*), by which we may be framed to such a sincere obedience (*h*), as to trust wholly upon God (*i*), and have a firm belief

(*a*) *Circumcise our flesh*, etc.] Rom. ii. 28, 29. Phil. iii. 3.

(*b*) *From all sorts*, etc.] 1 Cor. v. 8.

(*c*) *To offer our own blood*, etc.] 1 Cor. x. 16. Heb. xii. 4. 1 Pet. ii. 21.

(*d*) *Whatever share of our goods*, etc.] Matth. vi. 4. Luke xii. 33. 2 Cor. ix. 7. Heb. iii. 6.

(*e*) *But to use both of them*, etc.] Luke xxi. 34. Rom. xiii. 13. Eph. v. 18. Gal. v. 21. 1 Tim. v. 3. 1 Pet iv. 3.

(*f*) *And sometimes by fasting*, etc.] Mat. vi. 18. xvii. 21. 1 Cor. vii. 5.

(*g*) *A godly faith*, etc.] John xii. 44.

(*h*) *A sincere obedience*, etc.] Luke xi. 28. John xiii. 7. and the following verses; 1 Cor. vii. 19. 1 Pet. i. 2.

(*i*) *Trust wholly upon God*, etc.] Mat. xxi. 21. 2 Tim. i. 12.

of his promiſes (*a*); whence ariſes hope (*b*), and a true love (*c*), both of God and our neighbour, which cauſes obedience to his commands; not a ſervile obedience (*d*), proceeding from the fear of puniſhment, but becauſe it is well-pleaſing (*e*) to him, and becauſe he is our father (*f*), and rewarder (*g*), out of his exceeding goodneſs towards us. And we are commanded to pray (*h*), not to obtain riches or honours, and ſuch other things, which many have deſired to their own hurt; but, in the firſt place, for ſuch things as are for the glory of God; and ſo much only for ourſelves, of thoſe periſhable things, as nature requires, permitting the reſt to divine providence; being contented, which way ſoever they happen: but for thoſe things that lead to eter-

(*a*) *A firm belief of his promiſes*, etc.] Rom. iv. 20. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Gal. iii. 29.

(*b*) *Whence ariſes hope*, etc.] Heb. vi. 2. Rom. viii. 24. xv. 4.

(*c*) *And a true love, both of God*, etc.] Gal. v. 6. 1 Theſ. iii. 6.

(*d*) *Not a ſervile obedience*, etc.] Rom. viii. 15.

(*e*) *But becauſe it is well-pleaſing*, etc.] Heb. xii 28.

(*f*) *And becauſe he is our father*, etc.] Rom viii.

(*g*) *And rewarder*, etc.] Coloſ. iii. 24. 2 Theſ. i. 6. (To which we may add; that we can eaſily apprehend, that his precepts are moſt worthy of him, and ſo exactly ſuited to our nature, that better or more agreeable cannot be conceived by any one; therefore we ought to render ourſelves obedient to him, out of a grateful ſenſe of his commands, becauſe they are the beſt and moſt excellent that can be; and this though there were no puniſhment to be inflicted on the diſobedient, beſide the baſeneſs of the fact itſelf; this is to obey God like ſons, and not like ſervants. Le Clerc.)

(*h*) *And we are commanded to pray*, etc.] Mat. vi. 10.

nity we are to pray with all earneſtneſs, *viz.* for pardon of our paſt ſins, and for the aſſiſtance of the Spirit for the future; that being eſtabliſhed firmly againſt all threats and temptations, we may continue on in a godly courſe. This is the worſhip of God required by the Chriſtian religion, than which certainly nothing can be conceived more worthy of him.

SECT. XII. *Concerning thoſe Duties of Humanity, which we owe to our Neighbour, though he has injured us.*

THE duties towards our neighbour, required of us, are alſo of the like ſort. The Mahometan religion, which was bred in arms, breathes nothing elſe; and is propagated by ſuch means only. Thus Ariſtotle (*a*) takes notice of, and blames the laws of the Laconians, (which were ſo highly commended above any other in Greece, even by the oracle of Apollo,) becauſe they tended directly to force of arms. But the ſame philoſopher affirms, that war againſt barbarians was

(*a*) *Thus Ariſtotle*, etc.] Polit. vii. chap. 14. 'Like unto theſe are ſome, who afterwards declared their opinions in their writings. For in praiſing the government of the Lacedaemonians, they commend the deſign of the lawgiver, becauſe the whole eſtabliſhment tended to power and war: which may eaſily be confuted by reaſon, and is now confuted by fact.' Euripides, in Andromacha, ſaid it before Ariſtotle.

——————— *If war, and glory,*
And the ſword, were from the Spartans taken,
There's nothing excellent that would remain.

lawful: whereas the contrary is true amongſt men, who were deſigned by nature for friendſhip and ſociety. For, what greater iniquity (*a*) can there be, than to puniſh ſingle murders; but expoſe to public view, in their triumphs, whole nations, whom they had ſlain, as a glorious exploit? And yet that moſt celebrated city of Rome, how did it procure that title but by wars, and thoſe many times very unjuſt (*b*), as they themſelves confeſs concerning the wars of Sardinia (*c*) and Cyprus (*d*)? And in general, as the moſt famous compilers of annals have related, very many nations did not account it infamous to commit robberies (*e*) out of their own bounds.

(*a*) *For, what greater iniquity*, etc.] To this purpoſe is the ninty ſixth epiſtle of Seneca, and book ii. chap. 8. concerning Anger; and the ſecond epiſtle of Cyprian.

(*b*) *Many times very unjuſt*, etc.] Petronius:

——————— *In any ſecret holes,*
If any land did ſhining gold contain,
They war proclaim.

(*c*) *The wars againſt Sardinia*, etc.] See Polybius, Hiſt. 3.

(*d*) *And Cyprus*, etc.] Florus, book iii. chap. 9. 'So great was the report, and that very juſtly, of its riches; that though they were a people that conquered nations, and were accuſtomed to beſtow kingdoms; yet at the inſtance of Publius Clodius the tribune, it was given in charge, to confiſcate the king, though alive, and their ally.' Plutarch mentions the ſame thing, in his life of Cato, and Appion, book ii. of his Politics; and Dion, l. xxxviii. See the ſame Florus, in his war of Numantia and Crete.

(*e*) *To commit robberies*, etc.] Thucydides, book i. 'Formerly the Greeks, as well as the Barbarians, whether they lived on the continent near the ſea-ſhore, or whether they inhabited the iſlands; after they began to hold cor-

Executing of revenge (*a*) is, by Ariſtotle and Ci-

reſpondence with one another by ſailing, fell to robbing, led on by great men, either for the ſake of gain to themſelves, or to procure victuals for them that wanted. And happening upon cities which were not walled, but inhabited like villages, they plundered them, and the greateſt part made their advantage of them, being not aſhamed as yet of doing thus, but rather accounting it glorious. This is evidently the practice of ſome that dwell upon the continent now, who account it honourable to do thus; and amongſt the antient poets, it is very frequent for them who met ſailors, to aſk them if they were pirates; knowing that they who were ſo aſked, would not diſown it; nor they who aſked them think it any reproach. Nay, they robbed one another upon the very continent; and a great many of the Greeks live now in this antient manner, as the Ozolan Locrians, the Ætolians, the Acarnanians, and thoſe of the adjoining continent.' The queſtion Thucydides here mentions is in Homer's Odyſſ. book xix. Upon which the ſcholiaſt ſays, 'To plunder was not accounted infamous, but glorious, by the antients.' Juſtin, book xliii. chap. 3. concerning the Phocenſians. 'They were more diligent in occupying the ſea, than the land, in fiſhing and trading; and very often in plundering,' (which, at that time, was looked upon as honourable.) Concerning the Spaniards, ſee Plutarch in Marius; and Diodorus, book v. concerning the Tyrrhenians. Servius on the eighth and tenth Æneids, Caeſar, Tacitus, and Saxo Grammaticus concerning the Germans.

(*a*) *Executing of revenge*, etc.] Ariſtotle's Ethics to Nicomachus, iv. 2. 'Such an one ſeems to be no ways affected or concerned, not to revenge himſelf unleſs provoked; but it ſhews a mean ſpirit to bear contemptuous treatment.' And Tully, in his ſecond book of Invention, places revenge amongſt the duties that belong to the law of nature: 'Whereby either in our own defence, or by way of revenge, we keep off force or reproach.' And to Atticus; 'I hate the man and will hate him: I wiſh I could revenge myſelf upon him.' And againſt An

cero, made a part of virtue. The gladiators (*a*) tearing one another to pieces, was one of the public entertainments amongſt the heathens; and to expoſe their children (*b*) was a daily practice. The Hebrews, indeed, had a better law, a more holy diſcipline; but yet there were ſome things overlooked or allowed in that people, whoſe paſſion was ungovernable; ſuch as the giving (*c*) up to their power ſeven nations, though indeed they deſerved it: with which they not being contented, perſecuted, with cruel hatred (*d*), all that differed from them; the marks of which (*e*) remain, even to this day, in their prayers uttered againſt Chriſtians: and the law itſelf allowed

tony: 'I would revenge every ſingle crime, according to the degree of provocation in each.'

(*a*) *The gladiators*, etc.] See Lactantius, book ii. and Tertullian concerning Shews, chap. 19.

(*b*) *And to expoſe their children*, etc.] See Juſtin's ſecond Apologetic, chap. 9. and Lactantius's Inſtitution, chap. 20. and Terence's Hecyra.

(*c*) *Such as the giving*, etc.] Exod. xxxiv. 11, 12. Deut. vii. 1, 2.

(*d*) *Perſecuted, with cruel hatred*, etc.] R. Levi Ben Gerſon tells us, they were to endeavour to injure them any manner of way. Bechai ſays, that what was taken from them by theft, was not to be reſtored.

(*e*) *The marks of which*, etc.] See a little book of prayers, put out at Venice, in a ſmall volume, page 8. and a German book of Antonius Margarita, and Maimonides, on the xiii. Articles, where he ſays, they are to be deſtroyed who do not believe them. And it is a frequent ſaying in the mouths of the Jews, *Let all ſectaries ſuddenly periſh*. The like ſaying, we find in R. Iſaac's Bereſchith Rabba, and the Talmud in Baba Kama, and Baba Bathra.

a man to revenge an injury (*a*) by the puniſhments of retaliation, and that a manſlayer might be killed by the private hand of the next relation. But the law of Chriſt forbids requiting (*b*) any injury that hath been done us, either by word or deed; leſt by imitating that malice we condemn in others, we ſhould on the contrary approve it. It would have us do good, in the firſt place, to thoſe that are good; and then to the bad alſo, after the example of God (*c*), from whom we receive gifts in common with all other men; ſuch as the ſun, the ſtars, the air, the winds, and the rain.

SECT. XIII. *About the Conjunction of Male and Female.*

THE conjunction of man and woman, whereby mankind is propagated, is a thing that highly deſerves to be taken care of by law; which, that the heathen neglected, is no wonder, when they relate ſtories of the whoredoms (*d*) and adulte-

(*a*) *To revenge an injury*, etc.] Lev. xxiv. 20. Deut. xix. 21.

(*b*) *Forbids requiting any injury*, etc.] Mat. v. 38, 44.

(*c*) *After the example of God*, etc.] Matth. v. 45.

(*d*) *Stories of the whoredoms*, etc.] See Euripides's Ione.

——————————— *I can't forbear,*
The lewdneſs of Apollo to reprove.
Who forces virgins to his nuptial bed,
And murders his own children privately:
Is this to practiſe virtue you enjoin!
If mortals ſin, you gods revenge the wrong;
And is it juſt that you, who laws preſcribe

ries of thoſe gods which they worſhipped. And which is worſe, the conjunction of males (*a*) with one another is defended by the examples of their gods: in the number of which Ganymedes of old, and Antinous afterwards (*b*), were reckoned, upon this account; which horrid crime is alſo often eſteemed lawful amongſt the Mahometans, Chineſe, and other nations. The Greek philoſophers ſeem to take great pains to put a virtuous name (*c*) upon a vicious thing. The moſt

To all mankind, ſhould live by none yourſelves?
Though it will never be, yet I muſt ſpeak;
If Phoebus, Neptune, and the king of gods,
Should puniſh all unlawful marriages,
None would remain, to worſhip at their ſhrines.

See this matter fully handled by Clemens in his Hortatory Diſcourſe; by Athenagoras, Tatian, Arnobius, book iv. Nazianzen, in his firſt againſt Julian, and Theodoret, Diſcourſe iii.

(*a*) *The conjunction of males*, etc.] See this alſo in the forementioned places of Clemens and Theodoret.

(*b*) *And Antinous afterwards*, etc.] Mentioned by Juſtin, in his ſecond Apologetic; by Clemens, in his Hortatory Diſcourſe; by Origen, in his ſecond and eighth books againſt Celſus; by Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, iv. 8. by Theod. 8. and the hiſtorians of thoſe times.

(*c*) *To put a virtuous name*, etc.] So indeed it was thought, not only by Lucian, in his little book concerning Love; but by Gregory Nazianzen, Or. iii. againſt Julian; and by Elias Cretenſis, and Nonnus upon him. And alſo by Cyril, in his ſixth book againſt Julian; and by Theodoret, very largely, in his thirteenth book to the Greeks. I cannot omit a place of Philo's, who had a great opinion of Plato, out of his book concerning a contemplative Life. 'Plato's feaſt is ſpent almoſt wholly upon love, not only of men eager after women, and women eager after men; for ſuch deſires may be ſatisfied by the law of nature; but of men after men, differing

eminent of which ſame Greek philoſophers, recommending intercourſe with women (*a*); what did they do elſe but turn a whole city into one common ſtew, when even brute creatures obſerve ſome ſort of conjugal league (*b*)? How much more reaſonable is it then, that man, who is the moſt divine creature, ſhould not be born from an uncertain original, whereby the mutual affections betwixt parents and children is deſtroyed! The Hebrew law indeed forbad all uncleanneſs, but a man was allowed (*c*) to have more wives than one, at a time, and the huſband had a power to

from themſelves only in age; and if any thing be ſpeciouſly ſaid concerning love and heavenly Venus, thoſe names are uſed only for a cover.' Tertullian, concerning the Soul, preferring the Chriſtian wiſdom to that of Socrates, adds, 'Not bringing in new Daemons, but driving out the old; not corrupting youth, but inſtructing them in all the goodneſs of modeſty.

(*a*) *Recommending intercourſe with women*, etc.] See Plato, as in other places, ſo more particularly in his fourth Republic.

(*b*) *When even brute creatures*, etc.] See Pliny, book x. chap. 33, 'The actions of doves are mightily taken notice of by theſe upon the ſame account; their cuſtoms are the ſame, but the higheſt degree of modeſty belongs eſpecially to them; adulteries are not known to either of them: they do not violate the fidelity of wedlock.' Concerning the conjugal chaſtity of ring-doves, ſee Porphyry, in his third book againſt eating Living Creatures.

(*c*) *But a man was allowed*, etc.] This appears from Deut. xvii. 16, 17. xxi. 15. 2 Sam. xii. 8. So the Hebrews underſtood the law; and Chryſoſtom, 1 Cor. xi. and Auguſtine, book iii. chap. 12. concerning the Chriſtian Doctrine: and others of the antients. Joſephus, who beſt underſtood the law, ſays, in the fifteenth of his Antiqui-

put away his wife (*a*) for any cauſe whatſoever; which is the cuſtom at this day among the Mahometans: and formerly the Greeks and Latins took ſo great a liberty, that the Laconians, and Cato (*b*), permitted others to have their wives for a time. But the law of Chriſt, which is moſt perfect, ſtrikes at the very root of vice, and accounts him guilty (*c*) before God, (who can ſee into, and judge the hearts of men,) that luſts after, though he has not committed the crime; or that attempts the chaſtity of any woman, or looks upon her with ſuch deſires. And becauſe all true friendſhip is laſting, and not to be broke; it would, with very good reaſon, have that to be ſo which contains the union (*d*) of their bodies, as well as the agreement of their minds; and which, without doubt, is more convenient for a right education of their children. Among the heathen, ſome few nations were content with one wife, as the Germans and Romans; and in this they are followed by the Chriſtians (*e*): namely, that the wife, having reſigned herſelf in-

ties, 'It was the cuſtom of our fathers to have many wives.'

(*a*) *To put away his wife*, etc.] Deut. xxiv. 1, 2, 3, 4. Lev. xxi. 14.

(*b*) *The Laconians and Cato*, etc.] See Herodotus, book vi. and Plutarch, in his Cato Uticenſis, and Lycurgus.

(*c*) *Accounts him guilty before God*, etc.] Mat. v. 28.

(*d*) *Which contains the union*, etc.] Mat. v. 3. xix 9.

(*e*) *Followed by the Chriſtians*, etc.] Paul the apoſtle, 1 Cor. vii. 4. Lactantius's Inſtitutions, vi. 23. Hieronymus againſt Oceanus.

tirely to her husband, may be recompensed (*a*) with a like return; that the government (*b*) of the family may be better managed by one governor, and that different mothers might not bring a disturbance in amongst the children.

SECT. XIV. *About the Use of temporal Goods.*

To come now to the use of those things which are commonly called goods; we find theft allowed by some heathen nations, as the Egyptians (*c*), and Spartans (*d*); and they who did not allow it in private persons, did scarce any thing else in the public; as the Romans, of whom the Roman orator said, if every one should (*e*) have his due restored to him, they must go back a-

(*a*) *Recompensed with a like return*, etc.] Sallust well expresses it in his Jugurthine War. 'Amongst those that have many wives, there is but little affection, because the mind is distracted with a multitude, so as to have none of them for an intimate companion; but they are all equally esteemed of no value.' Ammianus concerning the Persians, book xxiii. 'By means of various lusts, divided love grows faint.' And Claudian in his Gildonic War.

——— They have a thousand marriages,
For they regard no ties, no sacred pledge,
But their affection is in number lost.

(*b*) *That the government*, etc.] Euripides, in his Andromacha, rightly apprehends and expresses them both.

(*c*) *As the Egyptians*, etc.] See Diodorus Siculus's Hist. book i.

(*d*) *And Spartans*, etc.] See Plutarch in his Lycurgus.

(*e*) *If every one should have*, etc.] Lactantius in his Epitome, chap. 1. cites the words of Tully to this purpose, out of his third Republic.

gain to their cottages. Indeed, there was no ſuch thing amongſt the Hebrews; but they were permitted to take uſury of ſtrangers (*a*), that the law might, in ſome meaſure, be fitted to their diſpoſition; and therefore, amongſt other things, it promiſed riches (*b*) to them that obeyed it. But the Chriſtian law not only forbids all kind of injuſtice (*c*) towards any perſons, but alſo forbids us ſetting our affections (*d*) upon periſhing things; becauſe our mind is of ſuch a nature, that it cannot diligently attend to the care of two things, each of which requires the whole man, and which oftentimes draws him contrary ways: and beſides, ſollicitouſneſs, in procuring (*e*) and preſerving riches, is attended with a certain ſlavery and uneaſineſs, which ſpoils that very pleaſure which is expected from riches; but nature is ſatisfied (*f*) with a very few things, and thoſe ſuch as can eaſily be procured, without any great labour or charge. And if God has granted us ſomething beyond this, we are not commanded to caſt it into the ſea, as ſome philoſophers (*g*) imprudently did; nor to let it lie uſeleſs by us,

(*a*) *To take uſury from ſtrangers*, etc.] Deut. xxiii. 19.

(*b*) *It promiſed riches*, etc.] Lev. xxvi. 5. Deut. xxviii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12.

(*c*) *All kind of injuſtice*, etc.] Mat. vii. 12. Eph. v. 3.

(*d*) *Setting our affections*, etc.] Matth. vi. 24. and the following verſes, xiii. 22. Luke viii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 9.

(*e*) *Sollicitouſneſs in procuring*, etc.] Mat. vi. 34. Phil. iv. 6.

(*f*) *But nature is ſatisfied*, etc.] 1 Tim. vi. 7, 8.

(*g*) *As ſome philoſophers*, etc.] Laertius and Suidas affirm this of Ariſtippus, and Philoſtratus of Crates.

nor yet to laviſh it away: but out of it, to ſupply the wants of other men, either by giving (*a*) or lending (*b*) to thoſe that aſk it; as becomes thoſe (*c*) who believe themſelves, not to be proprietors of theſe things, but only ſtewards and deputies of the moſt high God their parent; for a kindneſs well beſtowed, is a treaſure (*d*) full of good hope, againſt which neither the wickedneſs of thieves, nor variety of accidents, can prevail any thing. An admirable example of which ſincere and undiſſembled charity, the firſt Chriſtians afford us; when things were ſent from ſo great a diſtance as Macedonia and Achaia (*e*), in order to ſupply the want of thoſe in Palaeſtine; as if the whole world had been but one family. And here this caution is added alſo, in the law of Chriſt; that no hope of recompence (*f*) or honour ought to diminiſh from our liberality; becauſe, if we have regard to any thing elſe but God, it takes away his acceptance (*g*). And, leſt any one ſhould pretend, as is commonly done, to cloke his ſparingneſs, as if he were afraid he ſhould want what he has, when he comes to be an old man, or if any misfortune ſhould befal

(*a*) *Either by giving*, etc.] Matth. v. 42.

(*b*) *Or lending*, etc.] In the ſame Matth. Luke vi. 35.

(*c*) *As becomes thoſe*, etc.] 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18.

(*d*) *Is a treaſure*, etc.] Matth. vi. 20.

(*e*) *Macedonia and Achaia*, etc.] Rom. xv. 25, 26. and the following verſes. 2 Cor. ix. 1,—4. Phil. iv. 18.

(*f*) *That no hope of recompence*, etc.] Matth. vi. 1, 2. Luke xiv. 12.

(*g*) *It takes away his acceptance*, etc.] See the forecited place in Matthew.

him; the law promiſes, that a particular care (*a*) ſhall be taken of thoſe who keep theſe precepts: and, that they may the more rely upon it, reminds them of the remarkable providence (*b*) of God, in providing for wild beaſts and cattle, in adorning herbs and flowers; and that it would be an unworthy thing in us, not to believe ſo good, ſo powerful a God, nor to truſt him any further than we would do a bad debtor, of whom we never think ourſelves ſecure without a pledge.

SECT. XV. *Concerning Oaths.*

OTHER laws forbid perjury; but this would have us (*c*) entirely to abſtain from oaths, except upon neceſſity; and to have ſo great regard to truth, in our common converſation, that there ſhould be no need (*d*) of requiring an oath of us.

SECT. XVI. *Concerning other Actions.*

AND, indeed, there is nothing excellent to be found in the philoſophic writings of the Greeks, or in the opinions of the Hebrews, or of any other nation, which is not contained here, and moreover ratified by divine authority. For inſtance, concerning modeſty (*e*), temperance (*f*),

(*a*) *That a particular care*, etc.] Matth. vi. 32. Luke xi. 7. xxi. 8.

(*b*) *The remarkable providence of God*, etc.] Matth. vi. 26, 28.

(*c*) *But this would have us*, etc.] Matth. v. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. James v. 12.

(*d*) *That there ſhould be no need*, etc.] See the foremention ed place of Matthew.

(*e*) *Modeſty*, etc.] 1 Pet. iii. 3.

(*f*) *Temperance*, etc.] Tit. ii. 12. 1 Tim. ii. 19.

goodneſs (*a*), moral virtue (*b*), prudence (*c*), the duty of governors (*d*) and ſubjects, parents and children (*e*), maſters and ſervants (*f*), huſbands and wives (*g*); and particularly, abſtaining from thoſe vices, which, under a ſhew of virtue, deceived many of the Greeks and Romans, *viz.* the deſire of honour (*h*) and glory. The ſum of it is wonderful for its ſubſtantial brevity; that we ſhould love God (*i*) above all things, and our neighbour as ourſelves; that is, we ſhould do to others (*k*), as we would have them do to us. Perhaps ſome may object againſt what we have now ſaid, of the excellency of Chriſt's commands; the great difference of opinions among Chriſtians, from whence have ariſen ſo many various ſects.

(*a*) *Goodneſs*, etc.] 2 Cor. vi. 6. Gal. v. 22. Col. iii. 12. 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

(*b*) *Moral virtue*, etc.] Phil. iv. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 2. iii. 4. Tit. ii. 7.

(*c*) *Prudence*, etc.] Matth. x. 16. Eph. i. 8.

(*d*) *The duty of governors*, etc.] 1 Tim. ii. 2. Rom. xiii. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17.

(*e*) *Parents and children*, etc.] Col. iii. 20, 21. Eph. vi. 1,—4.

(*f*) *Maſters and ſervants*, etc.] Eph. vi. 5,—10. Col. iii. 22,—25.

(*g*) *Husbands and wives*, etc.] Eph. v. 22,—25, 28, 33. Col. iii. 18, 19. 1 Tim. ii. 2.

(*h*) *The deſire of honour*, etc.] Matth. xviii. 4. xxiii. 12. Luke xiv. 11. xviii. 14. John v. 44. Eph. iv. 2. Col. ii. 18. iii. 23. 1 John ii. 16. Phil. ii. 3. 1 Theſſ. ii. 6. 1 Pet. i. 24. v. 5.

(*i*) *That we ſhould love God*, etc.] Matth. ix. 18. xxii. 37, 39. Luke x. 27. Rom. xiii. 9, 10, 11. Gal. v. 14. James ii. 8.

(*k*) *We ſhould do to others*, etc.] Mat. vii. 12. Luke vi. 31. This was commanded by the emperor Alexander; ſee Dion, and he that wrote the life of this emperor in Latin.

SECT. XVII. *An Anſwer to the Objection, drawn from the many Controverſies amongſt Chriſtians.*

BUT the anſwer to this is evident: there are ſcarce any arts but the ſame thing happens to them, partly through the weakneſs of human nature, and partly becauſe men's judgment is hindered by prejudices: but for the moſt part, this variety of opinions is limited within certain bounds, in which men are agreed; and whereby they determine doubts: as in the mathematics, it is a doubt whether the circle can be ſquared or no; but whether, if you take equals from equals, the remainder will be equal; this admits of no diſpute: and thus it is in natural philoſophy, phyſic, and other arts. So the difference of opinions that is amongſt Chriſtians, cannot hinder their agreement in the principal things, that is, thoſe commands (*a*) by which we have now recommended the Chriſtian religion: and the certainty of theſe appears from hence, that thoſe who being highly enraged againſt one another, have ſought for matter of diſagreement, never ventured to go ſo far as to deny that theſe were the precepts of Chriſt; no, not even they who

(*a*) *Thoſe commands*, etc.] We may add alſo, in thoſe opinions that are neceſſary, and upon which the obſervation of commands depends; ſuch as are mentioned in the moſt antient creeds which are extant in Irenaeus and Tertullian, and what we now call the Apoſtles Creed.

would not direct their lives according to this rule. And if any ſhould attempt to contradict theſe, he ought to be looked upon to be like thoſe philoſophers who denied that ſnow was white. For as theſe were confuted by their ſenſes, ſo are they by the conſent of all Chriſtian nations, and by thoſe books that were wrote by the firſt Chriſtians; and thoſe after them, who were followed by learned men; and ſuch who bore teſtimony to the faith of Chriſt by their death. For that which all theſe acknowlege to be the doctrine of Chriſt, ought to be accounted ſo by all fair and equal judges; for the ſame reaſon that we believe Plato, Xenophon, and other diſciples of Socrates, concerning the opinions of Socrates; and the ſchools of the Stoics, for what Zeno delivered.

SECT. XVIII. *The Excellency of the Chriſtian religion further proved, from the Excellency of its Teacher.*

THE third thing wherein we ſaid the Chriſtian religion exceeds all other religions that are, or can be imagined, is the manner in which it was delivered and propagated: in the conſideration of which particular, the firſt thing that offers itſelf is the author of this doctrine. The authors of the Grecian wiſdom and knowlege, themſelves confeſſed, that they alleged ſcarce any thing for certainty, becauſe truth was ſunk, as

it were to the bottom of a well (*a*); and the mind (*b*), as dim-ſighted in regard to divine things, as the eyes of an owl in the ſun-ſhine. Beſide, there was hardly any of them, but was addicted to ſome particular vice (*c*); ſome were flatterers of princes (*d*), others devoted to the embraces of harlots (*e*), others to ſnarling impudence (*f*); and one great argument of the envy and hatred they all had againſt one another, is, their quarrelling about words (*g*), or things of no moment; and

(*a*) *To the bottom of a well*, etc.] It was a ſaying of Democritus, 'That truth lay at the bottom of a well,' as we find in Tully's Academical Queſtions, and in other writers.

(*b*) *And the mind as dim-ſighted*, etc.] See Ariſtotle's Metaphyſics, book ii. ch. 1. 'As the eyes of a bat are dazled at the light in the day-time; ſo is the underſtanding in our ſoul confounded at the plaineſt things in the world.'

(*c*) *Some particular vice*, etc.] Socrates is moſt commended, by the conſent of all; yet Cyril in his ſixth book againſt Julian, ſets before us, in the words of Porphyry, the high degree of anger he diſcovered in his words and ſayings.

(*d*) *Flatterers of princes*, etc.] Plato and Ariſtippus.

(*e*) *The embraces of harlots*, etc.] Zeno, the chief of the Stoics, was addicted to the love of men; and Plato, Ariſtotle, Epicurus, Ariſtippus, and almoſt all of them, to the love of women; witneſs Athenaeus's books, iii. and xiii. Laertius and Lactantius. Theognis mentions it of himſelf in many places.

(*f*) *To ſnarling impudence*, etc.] Whence they were called Cynics.

(*g*) *Quarelling about words*, etc.] This is well obſerved by Timon Phliaſius.

O wretched mortals, nought but ſin and fleſh,
Always deceived with words and fierce conteſts;
Vain men, like empty bladders, puff'd with wind.

as good an argument of the coldneſs and indifferency in the worſhip of God, is, that they who believed that there really was but one God, did yet lay him aſide, and paid divine worſhip to others, whom they believed to be no gods; making that only the rule (*a*) of their religion, which was publicly received. And as for the reward of piety, they could affirm nothing for

And again,

Sharp conteſt walks about, with mighty noiſe,
Siſter of mortal hatred and confuſion;
'Till wandring to and fro, at laſt ſhe fix
Herſelf in human breaſts, and raiſe their hopes.

And again,

Who has inflam'd them with ſuch deadly ſtrife?
The noiſy multitude, who ſilence hate,
From whom the plague of tattle has its riſe.

You will find theſe verſes in Clemens Strom. v. in Euſebius at the end of his Preparation, and in Theodoret's ſecond Diſcourſe.

(*a*) *Making that the rule*, etc.] Xenophon in his ſixth Memorab. recites the Oracle, by which the gods are commanded to be worſhipped according to the laws of every city. Here we may repeat the words of Seneca, before quoted out of Auguſtine; after which Auguſtine adds theſe: 'He worſhipped that which he blamed; he did that which he condemned, and that which he found fault with, he paid adoration to.' According to what Plato ſays, in his Timaeus, and other places; and Porphyry, in that place of Euſebius's Preparation, book iv. chap. 8. that it is dangerous to ſpeak the truth, in divine matters, before the vulgar. The fear of which danger, both in the Greek and Latin, and Barbarian philoſophers, prevailed over the ſincere profeſſion of the truth; which thing alone is ſufficient to hinder any one from thinking that ſuch men were to be followed in every thing. Juſtin Martyr, in his

certain, as appears from the laſt diſpute of Socrates (*a*), a little before his death. Mahomet, the author of that religion, which has ſpread itſelf ſo far, abandoned himſelf to luſt (*b*), all his life long, which his friends themſelves do not deny. Neither did he give any aſſurance whereby it might appear, that thoſe rewards he promiſed, which conſiſted in feaſts and women, would ever really be; ſince they do not pretend to ſay, that he is reſtored to life again in his body; ſo far from that, that it now lies buried in Medina. But Moſes, the Hebrew lawgiver, was an excellent perſon, however not entirely free from faults; for, with great reluctance, he would ſcarce undertake an embaſſy (*c*) to the king of Egypt, though at the command of God; and he diſcovered ſome diſtruſt of God's promiſe (*d*), concerning ſtriking water out of the rock, as the Hebrews acknowlege. And he himſelf partook of ſcarce any of thoſe rewards, which he promiſed to his people by the law, being driven (*e*) to and fro in deſart places, by continual tumults, and never entering the happy land (*f*). But Chriſt

Exhortation to the Greeks, obſerves this of Plato.

(*a*) *The laſt diſpute of Socrates*, etc.] See what we have before quotted concerning him.

(*b*) *Abandoned himſelf to luſt*, etc.] See what is ſaid in the ſixth book.

(*c*) *Undertake an embaſſy*, etc.] Exod. iv. 2, 10, 13, 14.

(*d*) *Diſtruſt of God's promiſe*, etc.] Numb. xx. 12.

(*e*) *Being driven to and fro*, etc.] Exod xxii. Numb. xi. xii. xiv. xvi. xx. xxv.

(*f*) *And never entering the happy land*, etc.] Numb. xx. 12, Deut. xxxiv. 4.

is deſcribed by his diſciples, to be without any manner of ſin (*a*): nor could he ever be proved (*b*) to have committed any, by the teſtimonies of others: and whatever he commanded others, he performed himſelf (*c*); for he faithfully fulfilled all things that God commanded him; he was moſt ſincere (*d*), in the whole courſe of his life; he was the moſt patient of injuries (*e*) and torments, as is evident from his puniſhment on the croſs; he was ſo great a lover of mankind, of his enemies, even of thoſe by whom he was led to death, that he prayed to God for them (*f*). And the reward that he promiſed to his followers he was poſſeſſed of himſelf, in a moſt eminent manner; as is declared and proved by certain teſtimony. Many ſaw (*g*), heard, and handled him, after he was returned to life again: he was taken up into heaven (*h*) in the ſight of

(*a*) *To be without any manner of ſin*, etc.] John viii. 46. x. 32. 2 Cor. v. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 22. Heb. iv. That his piety was commended by the oracle among the Gentiles, we ſhall ſhow in the ſixth book.

(*b*) *Nor could he ever be proved*, etc.] Origen obſerves this in his third book againſt Celſus.

(*c*) *He performed himſelf*, etc.] Lactantius, in the end of his inſtitutions well obſerves: 'That he not only ſhewed the way, but walked before in it, leſt any one ſhould dread the path of virtue, on the account of its difficulty.'

(*d*) *He was moſt ſincere*, etc.] 1 Pet. ii. 22.

(*e*) *Moſt patient of injuries*, etc.] Matth. xxvi. 50, 52. John viii, 23. Acts viii. 32.

(*f*) *That he prayed to God for them*, etc.] Luke xxiii. 34.

(*g*) *Many ſaw, heard, and handled him*, etc.] John xx. 27, 28, 29. John i. Epiſt. i. Matth. xxvii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. 1 Cor. xv. 3,—8.

(*h*) *He was taken up into heaven*, etc.] Mark xvi. 19.

twelve; and that he there obtained the higheſt power is manifeſt from hence; that he endued his diſciples with a power (*a*) to ſpeak thoſe languages which they never had learned; and with other miraculous gifts (*b*), as he promiſed them (*c*), when he departed from them: all which put together, ſhew, that there is no reaſon to doubt of his faithfulneſs, or of his power, to recompenſe us with that reward he has promiſed. And hence it is we collect, that this religion exceeds all others in this particular alſo; that the author of it performed himſelf what he commanded; and was poſſeſſed of what he promiſed.

From the wonderful Propagation of this Religion.

WE come now to the effects of the doctrine by him delivered; which, indeed, if rightly conſidered, are ſuch, that if God has any regard or care of human affairs, this doctrine cannot poſſibly but be thought divine. It was agreeable to divine providence, to cauſe that to ſpread the fur-

Luke xxiv. 51, 52. Acts i. 9, 10, 11. alſo Acts vii. 55. ix. 3, 4, 5. xxii. 6. 1 Cor. xv. 8.

(*a*) *A power to ſpeak thoſe languages*, etc.] Acts ii. 3, 4. x. 46. xx. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, 30. xiii. 1, 8. xiv. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 39.

(*b*) *And with other miraculous gifts*, etc.] Acts iii. v. viii. ix. x. xi. xiii. xiv. xvi. xix. xx. xxi. xxvii. Rom. xv. 19. 2 Cor. xii. 12. Heb. ii. 4. The truth hereof is ſhown by Juſtin, in his diſpute with Trypho; by Irenaeus, book ii. by Tertullian, in his Apology; by Origen, in his ſeventh book againſt Celſus; by Lactantius and others.

(*c*) *As he promiſed them*, etc.] John xiv. 12. xvii. 21. Mark xvi. 17.

theſt which is in itſelf beſt. And this has happened to the Chriſtian religion, which we ourſelves ſee is taught all over Europe; even the farther corners of the north (*a*) not exempted; and no leſs throughout all Aſia (*b*), even in the iſlands of the ſea (*c*) belonging to it; through Egypt alſo (*d*), and Ethiopia (*e*), and ſome other parts of Africa (*f*), and at laſt through America (*g*). Nor is this done now only, but was ſo of old; as the hiſtory of all ages teſtify, the books of the Chriſtians, and the acts of Synods; and, at this day, there is a tradition preſerved amongſt the Barbarians, of the journies and miracles (*h*)

(*a*) *Even the further corners of the north*, etc.] See Adam Bremenſis and Helmoldus, and the writers concerning Iceland.

(*b*) *And no leſs throughout all Aſia*, etc.] See the Acts of the general councils

(*c*) *Even the iſlands in the ſea*, etc.] See Oſorius in his Luſitanics.

(*d*) *Through Egypt alſo*, etc.] This appears from the Acts of the general counſels; from the antient eccleſiaſtical hiſtories, and particularly Euſebius, vi. 34. out of the Coptic Liturgy.

(*e*) *And Ethiopia*, etc.] See Franciſcus Alvareſius.

(*f*) *And ſome other parts of Africa*, etc.] See Tertullian, Cyprian, Auguſtin, and the Acts of the African councils; eſpecially that council which is ſubjoined to the works of Cyprian.

(*g*) *And at laſt through America*, etc.] See Acoſta and others, who have wrote about the affairs of America.

(*h*) *Of the journies and miracles of Thomas*, etc.] See Abdias, book ix. Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, book i. towards the end; and book ii. ch. 1. and the beginning of book iii. Ruffinus, book x. ch. 9. Add to theſe, Oſorius and Linſchotius concerning the affairs of Eaſt India; and Freita concerning the empire of the Luſitanians in Aſia: the ſepulchre of this apoſtle is now to be ſeen in the country of Coromandel.

of Thomas, and Andrew (*a*), and the other apoſtles. And Clemens (*b*), Tertullian (*c*), and others (*d*), have obſerved, how far the name of

(*a*) *And Andrew*, etc.] See Euſebius, in the beginning of his forementioned third book, and Origen upon Geneſis.

(*b*) *Clemens*, etc.] He ſays, Strom. v. that Chriſt was known in all nations.

(*c*) *Tertullian*, etc.] In his firſt book againſt the Jews. 'In whom elſe have all nations believed, but in Chriſt, who lately came? In whom have all theſe nations believed, Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Meſopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia; the inhabitants of Pontus and Aſia, and Pamphilia; they that dwell in Egypt, and they who live in the country of Africa, beyond Cyrene; Romans and ſtrangers; Jews and other nations in Jeruſalem; the different ſorts of people in Getulia; the many countries of the Moors; all the borders of Spain; the different nations of Gaul; and thoſe places of Britain, which the Romans could not come at, are yet ſubject to Chriſt; the Sarmatae, and Daeci, and Germans, and Scythians; and many other obſcure nations, and many provinces and iſles unknown to us, ſo many that they cannot be reckoned? in all which places, the name of Chriſt, who lately came, reigns.' Preſently after, he ſhows how much larger the kingdom of Chriſt was in his time, that is, the end of the ſecond century, than thoſe of old. Nebuchadnezzar's, Alexander's, or the Romans: 'The kingdom of Chriſt overſpreads all places, is received every where, in all the above-named nations, (he had mentioned the Babylonians, Parthians, Indians, Ethiopia, Aſia, Germany, Britain, the Moors, Getulians, and Romans,) it is in great eſteem: he reigns every where, is adored in all places, is divided equally amongſt them all.'

(*d*) *And others*, etc.] Irenaeus, who was antienter than Tertullian, book i. c. 3. 'For though there be different languages, the power of tradition is the ſame; neither the churches founded in Germany, have any other belief, or any other tradition: nor yet thoſe in Iberia, nor thoſe among the Celtae, nor thoſe which are in the Eaſt,

Chriſt was famous in their times, amongſt the Britons, Germans, and other diſtant nations. What religion is there that can compare with it, for the extent of poſſeſſion? If you anſwer, hea-

nor thoſe in Egypt, nor thoſe in Lybia, nor thoſe that are eſtabliſhed in the middle of the world: but like the ſun, which God created, and is one and the ſame throughout the whole world: ſo the light, the preaching of the truth, ſhines every where, and enlightens all men, who are willing to come to the knowlege of the truth.' And Origen's Homily upon the fourth of Ezekiel. 'The miſerable Jews confeſs, that theſe things were foretold of the preſence of Chriſt; but they are fooliſhly ignorant of his perſon, though they ſee what is ſaid of him fulfilled; for when did the Britiſh land, before the coming of Chriſt, agree in the worſhip of one God? When did the country of the Moors, when did the whole world together do ſo? And Arnobius, book ii. 'The powers which they ſaw with their eyes, and thoſe unheard-of effects, which were openly produced, either by him, or which were proclaimed by his diſciples, throughout the whole world, ſubdued thoſe violent appetites, and cauſed nations and people, and thoſe whoſe manners were very different, to conſent with one mind to the ſame belief; for we might enumerate, and take into our account, thoſe things which were done in India among the Serae, Perſians, and Medes, in Arabia, Egypt, in Aſia, Syria, among the Galatians, Parthians, Phrygians, in Achaia, Macedonia, Epirus; in thoſe iſlands and provinces, ſurveyed by the eaſt and weſtern ſun; and laſtly, in Rome, the miſtreſs of the world.' And Athanaſius, in his Synodical Epiſtle, which we find in Theodoret, book iv. c. 3. mentions the Chriſtian churches in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, Myſia, Macedonia, Greece, Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lyſia, Iſauria, Egypt, Lybia, Pontus, and Cappadocia. And Theodoret in his eighth Diſcourſe againſt the Greeks, ſpeaks thus concerning the apoſtles: 'When they were converſant in the body, they went about, ſome-

theniſm: that indeed has but one name, but is not one religion: for they do not all worſhip the ſame thing; for ſome worſhip the ſtars, others the elements, others beaſts, others things that

times to one ſort, and ſometimes to another; ſometimes they diſcourſed to the Romans, ſometimes to the Spaniards, and ſometimes to the Celtans; but after they returned to him that ſent them, all enjoyed their labours without exception; not only the Romans, and they that loved the Roman yoke, and were ſubject to their government, but alſo the Perſians and Scythians, and Maſſagetae, and Sauromatae, and Indians, and Ethiopians; and to ſpeak in one word, the borders of the whole world.' And again in his ninth book, amongſt the converted nations, he reckons the Perſians, the Maſſagetae, the Tibareni, the Hircani, the Caſpians, and Scythians. Jerom in the epitaph of Nepotian, reckons among the Chriſtians, the Indians, Perſians, Goths, Egyptians, Beſſians, and the people clothed with ſkins. In his epiſtle to Laeta, he reckons up the Indians, Perſians, Æthiopians, Armenians, Hunns, Scythians, and Getans. And in his Dialogue between an orthodox man and a Luciferian, he mentions the Britons, Gauls, the eaſt, the people of India, the Iberians, the Celtiberians, and the Æthiopians. And Chryſoſtom, in his ſixth Homily upon firſt Corinthians, ſays, 'If they were not worthy to be believed in what they ſaid, how ſhould their writings have ſpread all over barbarous countries, even to the Indians, and thoſe countries beyond the ſea?' And again, in his laſt Homily upon Penticoſt: 'The holy Spirit deſcended in the ſhape of tongues, divided its doctrine among the ſeveral climates of the world; and by this gift of tongues, as it were by a particular commiſſion, made known to every one the limits of that command and doctrine that was committed to him.' And again, in his famous Oration, concerning Chriſt's being God: 'We muſt ſay then, that a mere man could not, in ſo ſhort time, have overſpread the world, both ſea and land; nor have ſo called men to

have no exiſtence; neither are they governed by the ſame law, nor under one common maſter. The Jews, indeed, though very much ſcattered, are but one nation; however, their religion has received no remarkable increaſe ſince Chriſt: nay, their own law is made more known by the Chriſtians than by themſelves. Mahometaniſm is ſettled in very many countries, but not alone; for the Chriſtian religion is cultivated in thoſe ſame countries, and in ſome places by a greater number: whereas, on the contrary, there are no Mahometans to be found in many parts where the Chriſtian religion is.

Conſidering the Weakneſs and Simplicity of thoſe who taught it in the firſt Ages.

WE come next to examine in what manner the Chriſtian religion made ſuch a progreſs, that in this particular alſo it may be compared with others. We ſee moſt men are diſpoſed to comply with the examples of kings and rulers, eſpecially if they be obliged to it by law, or compelled by force. To theſe the religions of the Pagans, and that of the Mahometans, owe their increaſe. But they who firſt taught the Chriſtian religion, were not only men without any authority, but of low fortune, fiſhers, tent-makers,

ſuch things, who were withheld by evil cuſtoms, nay, poſſeſſed with wickedneſs: yet he was ſufficient to deliver mankind from all theſe, not only Romans, but alſo Perſians, and all barbarous nations.' See alſo what follows, which is highly worth reading.

and the like: and yet, by the induſtry of theſe men, that doctrine, within thirty years, or thereabouts, ſpread not only through all parts of the Roman empire (*a*), but as far as the Parthians and Indians. And not only in the very beginning, but for almoſt three hundred years, by the induſtry of private perſons, without any threats, without any enticements, nay, oppoſed as much as poſſible, by the power of thoſe who were in authority; this religion was propagated ſo far, that it poſſeſſed the greateſt part of the Roman empire, before Conſtantine profeſſed Chriſtianity (*b*). They among the Greeks, who delivered precepts of morality, at the ſame time rendered themſelves acceptable by other arts; as the Platonics, by the ſtudy of geometry; the Peripatetics, by the hiſtory of plants and animals; the Stoics, by logical ſubtilty; the Pythagoreans, by the knowlege of numbers and harmony. Many of them were endued with admirable eloquence, as Plato, Xenophon, and Theophraſtus. But the firſt teachers of Chriſtianity had no ſuch art. Their ſpeech was very plain (*c*), without any

(*a*) *All parts of the Roman empire*, etc.] Rom. xv. 19.

(*b*) *Before Conſtantine profeſſed Chriſtianity*, etc.] Tertullian ſaid in his time, Apology ii. 'We are but of yeſterday, and have filled all places belonging to you, your cities, iſlands, caſtles, towns, councils, your very camps, tribes, companies, the palace, ſenate and Forum; we have left you only your temples.'

(*c*) *Their ſpeech was very plain*, etc.] This was wiſely obſerved by Chryſoſtom, on 1 Cor. i. 17. and by Theodoret, after the words now quoted.

enticements; they declared only the precepts, promiſes, and threats in bare words; wherefore, ſince they had not in themſelves any power, anſwerable to ſuch a progreſs, we muſt of neceſſity allow that they were attended with miracles; or that the ſecret influence of God favoured their undertaking, or both.

SECT. XIX. *And the great Impediments that hindered men from embracing it, or deterred them from profeſſing it.*

To which conſideration we may add this, that the minds of thoſe who embraced the Chriſtian religion, taught by theſe men, were not entirely free and unprejudiced from any eſtabliſhed rule of religion, and conſequently very pliable; as they were, who firſt embraced the heathen rites, and the law of Mahomet: and much leſs were they prepared by any foregoing inſtitution; as the Hebrews were rendered fit for the reception of the law of Moſes, by circumciſion, and the knowlege of one God. But, on the contrary, their minds were filled with opinions, and had acquired habits, which are a ſecond nature, repugnant to theſe new inſtructions; having been educated and confirmed by the authority of laws, and of their parents, in the heathen myſteries, and Jewiſh rites. And beſides this, there was another obſtacle, as great, namely, the moſt grievous ſufferings, which it was certain they who profeſſed Chriſtianity muſt endure, or be in fear of, upon that account: for, ſince ſuch ſufferiugs

are highly diſagreeable to human nature, it follows, that thoſe things which are the cauſe of ſuch ſufferings cannot be received without great difficulty. The Chriſtians, for a long time, were kept out of all places of honour, and were moreover fined, had their goods confiſcated, and were baniſhed: but theſe were ſmall things; they were condemned to the mines, had the moſt cruel torments, that it was poſſible to invent, inflicted upon them; and the puniſhments of death were ſo common, that the writers of thoſe times relate, that no famine, no peſtilence, no war, ever conſumed more men at a time. Neither were they the ordinary kinds of death: but burning of them alive (*a*), crucifying them, and ſuch like puniſhments; which one cannot read or think of without the greateſt horror: and this cruelty, which, without any long interruption, and that not every where, continued in the Roman empire almoſt till the time of Conſtantine, and in other places longer, was ſo far from diminiſhing them, that, on the contrary, their blood was called the ſeed of the church, they ſo much more increaſed as they were cut off. Here, therefore, let us compare other religions with Chriſtianity. The Greeks, and other Heathens, who are wont to magnify their own matters, reckon a very few that ſuffered death for their opinions;

(*a*) *But burning of them alive*, etc.] Domitius Ulpianus, a famous lawyer, wrote ſeven books about the puniſhments that Chriſtians ought to have inflicted on them. Lactantius mentions them, book v. chap. 7.

ſome Indian philoſophers, Socrates, and not many more; and it can hardly be denied, but that in theſe famous men, there was ſome deſire of tranſmitting their fame to poſterity. But there were very many of the common people, ſcarce known to their neighbours, among the Chriſtians, who ſuffered death for their opinion; women, virgins, young men, who had no deſire nor probable hopes, that their name would continue long after them; and, indeed, there are but a few whoſe names remain in the martyrologies, in compariſon of the number of them that ſuffered for this cauſe, and are reckoned only by the heap (*a*). Further, very many of them might have eſcaped this puniſhment by ſome ſmall diſſimulation, ſuch as throwing a little frankincenſe upon the altar; which cannot be affirmed of them, who, whatever private opinions they had in their minds, yet in their outward actions, conformed themſelves to the cuſtoms of the vulgar. So that to ſuffer death, for the honour of God, could ſcarce be allowed to any but the Jews and Chriſtians; and not to the Jews after Chriſt's time; and before, only to a very few, compared with

(*a*) *Reckoned only by the heap*, etc.] As the innocent company of three hundred at Carthage, mentioned in the twenty fourth Roman Martyrology of Auguſtus; very many in Africa, under Severus; under Valerian at Antioch; and in Arabia, Cappadocia, and Meſopotamia, in Phrygia, in Pontus, under Maximin; at Nicomedia, in Numidia, at Rome, in Thebais, Tyre, Trevers under Dioclefian, in Perſia, under Cabada and Sapores. All which are mentioned in the martyrology, without any names.

the Chriſtians; more of which ſuffered puniſhment for the law of Chriſt, in one province, than ever there did Jews; all whoſe ſufferings of this kind may almoſt be reduced to the times of Manaſſes and Antiochus. Wherefore, ſeeing the Chriſtian religion, in this particular alſo, infinitely exceeds others, it ought juſtly to be preferred before them. It muſt be inferred from ſuch a multitude, of every age and ſex, in ſo many different places and times, who refuſed not to die for this religion, that there was ſome great reaſon for ſuch a conſtant reſolution, which cannot be imagined to be any other, but the light of truth, and the Spirit of God.

An Anſwer to thoſe who require more and ſtronger Arguments.

IF there be any one, who is not ſatisfied with the arguments hitherto alleged, for the truth of the Chriſtian religion, but deſires more powerful ones, he ought to know, that different things (*a*) muſt have different kinds of proof; one ſort in mathematics, another in the properties of bodies,

(*a*) *That different things*, etc.] See Ariſtotle's Ethics to Nicomachus, book i. 'It is ſufficient, if a thing be made appear according to the ſubject matter of it; for the ſame evidence is not to be expected in all things.' And in the latter part of his firſt Metaphyſics, the laſt chapter, 'Mathematical certainty is not to be met with in all things.' And Chalcidius on the Timaeus, according to the opinion of Plato. 'A diſpoſition to believe preceeds all doctrines; eſpecially if they be aſſerted, not by common, but by great, and almoſt divine men.'

another in doubtful matters, and another in matters of fact. And we are to abide by that whoſe teſtimonies are void of all ſuſpicion: which, if it be not admitted, not only all hiſtory is of no further uſe, and a great part of phyſic, but all that natural affection which is between parents and children, is loſt, who can be known no other way (*a*). And it is the will of God (*b*), that thoſe things which he would have us believe,

(*a*) *Who can be known no other way*, etc.] Thus Homer,

No man for certain knows whoſe ſon he is.

That is, with the moſt exact kind of knowlege.

(*b*) *And it is the will of God*, etc.] There are two ſorts of propoſitions in the Chriſtian religion; one ſort of which may be philoſophically demonſtrated, the other cannot. Of the former are ſuch as theſe: the exiſtence of God, the creation of the world, a divine providence, the goodneſs and advantage of the precepts of religion; all which are capable of a demonſtration, and are actually demonſtrated by Grotius and others; ſo that a man muſt renounce his reaſon, or elſe admit them. But thoſe paſſions which are contrary to them, hinder unbelievers from receiving them, becauſe if they ſhould own them to be true, they muſt ſubdue thoſe paſſions, which they are unwilling to do, becauſe they have been ſo long accuſtomed to them. Of the latter ſort are the hiſtorical facts, upon which the truth of the goſpel depends, and which are explained by Grotius, and proved by hiſtorical arguments. Which ſame arguments would be allowed to be good by unbelievers, in the ſame manner as they do the proofs of all thoſe hiſtories, which they believe, though they did not ſee the facts; if they were not hindered by the prevalence of their paſſions; and which they muſt entirely ſubdue, if ſuch arguments came once to take place. See a little book of mine in French, concerning Infidelity. Le Clerc.

ſo as that that faith ſhould be accepted from us as obedience, ſhould not be ſo very plain, as thoſe things we perceive by our ſenſes, and by demonſtration; but only ſo far as is ſufficient to procure the belief, and perſuade a man of the thing, who is not obſtinately bent againſt it: ſo that the goſpel is, as it were, a touch-ſtone to try mens honeſt diſpoſitions by. For, ſince thoſe arguments, which we have brought, have gained the aſſent of ſo many good and wiſe men, it is very manifeſt, that the cauſe of infidelity in others is not from the want of proof, but from hence, that they would not have that ſeem true (*a*), which contradicts their paſſions and affections. It is a hard thing for them lightly to eſteem of honours and other advantages; which they muſt do, if they would receive what is related concerning Chriſt, and, for that reaſon, think themſelves bound to obey the precepts of Chriſt. And this is to be diſcovered by this one thing, that they receive many other hiſtorical relations as true, the truth of which is eſtabliſhed only upon authorities, of which there are no marks remaining at this time, as there is in the hiſtory of Chriſt; partly by the confeſſion of the Jews, which are now left; partly by the congregation of Chriſtians, every where to be found; for

(*a*) *That they would not have that ſeem true*, etc.] Chryſoſtom treats very handſomly of this, in the beginning of firſt Corinthians, chap. iii. And to Demetrius, he ſays, 'That they do not believe the commandments, proceeds from their unwillingneſs to keep them.'

which there must of necessity have been some cause. And since the long continuance of the Christian religion, and the propagation of it so far, cannot be attributed to any human power, it follows, that it must be attributed to miracles: or if any one should deny it to have been done by miracles; this very thing, that it should (*a*), without a miracle, gather so much strength and power, ought to be looked upon as greater than any miracle.

(*a*) *It should, without a miracle*, etc.] Chrysostom handles this argument on first Corinthians, chapter first, towards the end; and Augustin, concerning the City of God, book xxii. chap. 5.

BOOK III.

SECT. I. *Of the Authority of the Books of the New Teſtament.*

HE who is perſuaded of the truth and excellency of that religion which Chriſtians profeſs, having been convinced either by the arguments before offered, or by any other beſides them, in order to underſtand all the ſeveral parts of it, he muſt go to the moſt antient books which contain this religion; and they are what we call the books of the New Teſtament, or rather Covenant: for it is unreaſonable for any one to deny, that that religion is contained in thoſe books, as all Chriſtians affirm; ſince it is fit that every ſect, good or bad, ſhould be believed in this aſſertion, that their opinions are contained in this or that book; as we believe the Mahometans, that the religion of Mahomet is contained in the Alcoran: wherefore, ſince the truth of the Chriſtian religion has been proved before, and at the ſame time it was evident, that it was contained in theſe books, the authority of theſe books is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by this ſingle thing: however, if any one deſire to have it more particularly made appear to him, he muſt firſt lay down that common rule amongſt all fair judges,

that he who would (*a*) diſprove any writing, which has been received for many ages, is obliged to bring arguments that may diminiſh the credibility of ſuch a writing; which, if he cannot, the book is to be defended, as in poſſeſſion of its own authority.

SECT. II. *The Books that have any Names affixed to them, were writ by thoſe Perſons whoſe Names they bear.*

WE ſay then, that the writings about which there is no diſpute amongſt Chriſtians, and which have any particular perſon's name affixed to them, are that author's whoſe title they are marked with; becauſe the firſt writers, ſuch as Juſtin, Irenaeus, Clemens (*b*), and others after them, quote theſe books under thoſe names: and beſides, Tertullian ſays (*c*), that in his time, ſome of the original copies of thoſe books were extant:

(*a*) *That he who would*, etc.] See Baldus in his Rubric concerning the Credibility of Writings; and Gailus, book ii. Obſ. cxlix. Numb. 6, 7. and thoſe he there cites.

(*b*) *Clemens*, etc.] There is only Clemens's Epiſtle to the Corinthians extant, in which he quotes places of the New Teſtament, but does not name the writers; wherefore Clemens's name might have been omitted; and ſo might Juſtin's, who is not uſed to add the names. Le Clerc.

(*c*) *Tertullian ſays*, etc.] In his Preſcription againſt the heretics, 'Let any one who would exerciſe his curioſity principally in the affair of his ſalvation, let him run over the apoſtolical churches, over which the ſeats of the apoſtles have now the rule, in their reſpective places; in which the authentic letters themſelves are recited.' And why might not the hand of

and becauſe all the churches received them as ſuch, before there were any public councils held. Neither did any heathens or Jews raiſe any controverſy, as if they were not the works of thoſe whoſe they were ſaid to be. And Julian openly confeſſes (*a*), that thoſe were Peter's, Paul's, Matthew's, Mark's, and Luke's, which were read by the Chriſtians, under thoſe names. No-body, in his ſenſes, makes any doubt of Homer's or Virgil's works being theirs, by reaſon of the conſtant teſtimony of the Greeks concerning the one, and of the Latins concerning the other; how much more then ought we to ſtand by the teſtimony of almoſt all the nations in the world for the authors of theſe books?

SECT. III. *The Doubt of thoſe Books that were formerly doubtful, taken away.*

THERE are indeed in the volume we now uſe, ſome books which were not equally received from the beginning; as the ſecond of Peter (*b*), that of James, and Jude, two under the name of John

the apoſtles be then extant, when Quintilian ſays, that in his time Cicero's hand was extant; and Gellius ſays the ſame of Virgil's in his?

(*a*) *Julian openly confeſſes*, etc.] The place is to be ſeen in Cyril's tenth book. [See alſo our Annotations in the Diſſertation on the four evangeliſts, added to the Harmony of the Goſpels. Le Clerc.]

(*a*) *As the ſecond of Peter*, etc.] However, Grotius himſelf doubted of this; the reaſons of which doubt, he himſelf gives us, in the beginning of his Annotations upon this epiſtle. But though one or two epiſtles could be called in queſtion, this would

the preſbyter, the Revelations, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews: however, they were acknowleged by many churches, as is evident from the antient Chriſtians, who uſe their teſtimony as ſacred: which makes it credible, that thoſe churches, which had not thoſe books from the beginning, did not know of them at that time, or elſe were doubtful concerning them; but having afterwards learned the truth of the thing, they began to uſe thoſe books after the example of the reſt; as we now ſee done in almoſt all places: nor can there be a ſufficient reaſon imagined, why any one ſhould counterfeit thoſe books, when nothing can be gathered from them, but what is abundantly contained in the other books that are undoubted.

SECT. IV. *The Authority of thoſe Books, which have no Name to them, evident from the Nature of the Writings.*

THERE is no reaſon why any one ſhould detract from the credibility of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, upon this account only, becauſe we do not know who wrote it; and ſo likewiſe of the two epiſtles of John, and the Revelation, becauſe ſome have doubted whether John the apoſtle wrote them, or another of the ſame name. For in writers (*a*), the nature of the writings is more to

not render the reſt doubtful; nor would any part of the Chriſtian faith be defective, becauſe it is abundantly delivered in other places. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *For in writers*, etc.] It had been more proper to

be regarded than the name. Wherefore we receive many hiſtorical books, whoſe authors we are ignorant of, as that of Caeſar's Alexandrian War, *viz.* becauſe we ſee, that whoever the author was, he lived in thoſe times, and was preſent at thoſe matters: ſo likewiſe ought we to be ſatisfied, when thoſe, who wrote the books we are now ſpeaking of, teſtify that they lived in the firſt age, and were endued with the apoſtolical gifts. And if any one ſhould object againſt this, that theſe qualities may be feigned, as may the names in other writings; he would ſay a thing that is by no means credible, *viz.* that they who every where preſs the ſtudy of truth and piety, ſhould, without any reaſon, bring themſelves under the guilt of a lye; which is not only abhorred by all good men, but was puniſhed with death (*a*) by the Roman laws.

SECT. V. *That theſe Authors wrote what was true, becauſe they knew the Things they wrote about.*

IT is certain, therefore, that the books of the New Teſtament, were wrote by thoſe whoſe names they bear, or by ſuch perſons as they pro-

ſay *in writings*, or *books*, which is the meaning of Grotius, as appears from what follows. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *But was puniſhed with death*, etc.] See *L. Falſi Nominis. D. de Lege Cornelia*; and Paul, book v. Sent. Tit. XXV. Sect. 10, 11. See examples of this puniſhment, at the end of the books of Valerius Maximus, and in Capitolinus in Pertinax.

ſeſs themſelves to be; and it is, moreover, evident, that they had a knowlege of things they wrote about, and had no deſire to ſay what was falſe; whence it follows, that what they wrote muſt be true, becauſe every falſity proceeds either from ignorance, or from an ill intention. Matthew, John, Peter, and Jude, were of the company of thoſe twelve, which Jeſus choſe to be witneſſes of his life and doctrines: ſo that (*a*) they could not want the knowlege of thoſe things they relate: the ſame may be ſaid of James, who either was an apoſtle, or, as others would have it, a near relation of Jeſus (*b*), and made biſhop of Jeruſalem by the apoſtles. Neither could Paul be deceived through ignorance, concerning thoſe doctrines which he profeſſes were revealed to him by Jeſus himſelf reigning in heaven; neither could he be deceived in the things which he performed himſelf; no more could Luke, who was his inſeparable (*c*) companion in his travels. This ſame Luke could eaſily know what he wrote concerning the life and death of Jeſus; becauſe he was born in a neighbouring place, and had travelled through Paleſtine, where, he ſays, he ſpake

(*a*) *So that they could not want the knowlege*, etc.] John xv. 27. alſo 1 Epiſt. i. Acts i. 21, 22.

(*b*) *A near relation of Jeſus*, etc.] So others, and they not a few, think; and St. Chryſoſtom every where. See Joſephus alſo. (Add to theſe Euſebius, H. E. book ii. c. 1, and 23.)

(*c*) *Inſeparable companion*, etc.] See Acts xx. and the following. Coloſ. iv. 14. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Philem. 24.

with them (*a*) who were eye-witneſſes of theſe things. Without doubt there were many others, (beſides the apoſtles with whom he was acquainted,) who were then alive, having been healed by Jeſus, and who had ſeen him die, and come to life again. If we believe Tacitus and Suetonius concerning thoſe things which happened long before they were born, becauſe we rely upon their diligent enquiry; how much more reaſonable is it to believe this author, who ſays he had every thing from eye-witneſſes? It is a conſtant tradition (*b*) that Mark was a continual companion of Peter; ſo that what he wrote is to be eſteemed as if Peter himſelf, who could not be ignorant of thoſe things, had dictated it: beſides, almoſt every thing he wrote is to be found in the writings of the apoſtles. Neither could the writer of the Revelations be deceived in thoſe viſions which he ſays were cauſed from heaven (*c*); nor he to the Hebrews (*d*), in thoſe things which he profeſſes he was taught, either by the Spirit of God, or by the apoſtles themſelves.

(*a*) *He ſpake with them*, etc.] In the preface of his Goſpel Hiſtory.

(*b*) *It is a conſtant tradition*, etc.] Irenaeus, book iii. chap. 1. and Clemens in his Hypotypoſes, cited in Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

(*c*) *Were cauſed from heaven*, etc.] Revel. i. 1, 2. iv. 1. and the following; xxii. 18, — 21.

(*d*) *Nor he to the Hebrews*, etc.] Heb. ii. 4. v. 14. xiii. 7, 8, 23.

SECT. VI. *And becauſe they would not ſay what was falſe.*

THE other thing we affirmed, *viz.* that they would not ſpeak an untruth, belongs to what was before treated of, when we ſhewed the credibility of the Chriſtian religion in general, and of the hiſtory of Chriſt's reſurrection. They who would diſprove witneſſes in this particular relating to the diſpoſition of their mind and will, muſt of neceſſity allege ſomething to make it credible, that they ſet their mind againſt the truth. But this cannot be ſaid here; for, if any one ſhould object, that their own cauſe was concerned; he ought to examine upon what account it was their cauſe; certainly not for the ſake of getting any advantage, or ſhunning any danger; when, on the account of this profeſſion, they loſt all advantages, and there was no danger which they did not expoſe themſelves to. It was not therefore their own cauſe, unleſs out of reverence to God, which certainly does not induce any man to tell a lye; eſpecially in a matter of ſuch moment, upon which the eternal ſalvation of mankind depends. We are hindered from believing ſuch a wicked thing of them, both by their doctrines, which are in every part full of piety (*a*); and by

(*a*) *Full of piety*, etc.] And abhor lying, John xiv. 17. xv. 26. xvi. 13. xvii. 17, 19. xviii. 37. Acts xxvi. 25. Rom. i. 25. 2 Theſſ. ii. 20. 1 John i. 6, 8. ii. 4, 21. 2 Cor. vi. 8. Eph. iv. 15. 25. Coloſ. iii. 9. Rev. xxii. 15. 2 Cor. ii. 31. Gal. i. 20. Obſerve how induſtri-

their life, which was never accuſed of any evil fact, no, not by their enemies, who only objected their unſkilfulneſs againſt them, which is not at all apt to produce a falſity. If there had been in them the leaſt diſhoneſty, they would not have ſet down their own faults to be eternally remembered; as in the flight of them all (*a*) when Chriſt was in danger; and in Peter's thrice denying him (*b*).

SECT. VII. *The Credibility of theſe Writers further confirmed, from their being famous for Miracles.*

BUT on the contrary, God himſelf gave remarkable teſtimonies to the ſincerity of them, by working miracles, which they themſelves and their diſciples publicly avouched (*c*) with the higheſt aſſurance; adding the names of the perſons, and places, and other circumſtances; the truth or falſity of which aſſertion might eaſily have been diſcovered by the magiſtrates enquiry; amongſt which miracles this is worthy

ouſly St. Paul diſtinguiſhes thoſe things which are his own, and thoſe which are the Lord's, 1 Cor. vii. 10, 12. how cautious in ſpeaking of what he ſaw, whether he ſaw them in the body, or out of the body, 2 Cor. xii. 2.

(*a*) *As in the flight of them all*, etc.] Mat. xxvi. 34, 56.

(*b*) *In Peter's thrice denying him*,] Matth. xxvi. 69. and the following; Mark xiv. 66. and the following; Luke xxii. 54. and the following.

(*c*) *Publicly avouched*, etc.] See the Acts of the apoſtles throughout, and 2 Cor. xii. 12.

obſervation, which they conſtantly affirmed (*a*), *viz.* their ſpeaking languages they had never learned, before many thouſand people; and healing, in a moment, bodies that were diſeaſed, in the ſight of the multitude; nor were they at all afraid, though they knew at that time, that the Jewiſh magiſtrates were violently ſet againſt them; and the Roman magiſtrates very partial; who would not overlook any thing that afforded matter of traducing them as criminals, and authors of a new religion; nor did any of the Jews or heathens, in thoſe neareſt times, dare to deny that miracles were done by theſe men: nay, Phlegon, who was a ſlave of the emperor Adrian, mentions the miracles of Peter (*b*) in his Annals: and the Chriſtians themſelves, in thoſe books wherein they give an account of the grounds of their faith, before the emperors, ſenate, and rulers (*c*), ſpeak of theſe facts as things known to every body, and about which there could be no doubt: moreover, they openly declare, that the wonderful power of them remained in their graves (*d*) for

(*a*) *Which they conſtantly affirmed*, etc.] The places are quoted before.

(*b*) *Mentions the miracles of Peter*, etc.] Book xiii. As Origen ſays in his ſecond book againſt Celſus. This is that Phlegon, whoſe remains we have yet concerning miracles, and long-lived men.

(*c*) *Speak of theſe facts as things*, etc.] The places are very many, eſpecially in Origen. See the whole eighth chapter of Auguſtine's twenty-ſecond book of the City of God.

(*d*) *Remained in their graves*, etc.] The miracles at the ſepulchres of holy men, then began to be boaſted of, when

ſome ages; when they could not but know, if it were falſe, that they could eaſily be diſproved by the magiſtrates to their ſhame and puniſhment. And theſe miracles, now mentioned at their ſepulchres, were ſo common, and had ſo many witneſſes, that they forced Porphyry (*a*) to confeſs the truth of them. Theſe things which we have now alleged, ought to ſatisfy us: but there are a great may more arguments, which recommend to us the credibility of theſe books.

the Chriſtians having the power in their hands, began to make an advantage of the dead bodies of martyrs and others, that were buried in their churches. Wherefore I would not have this argument made uſe of, leſt we diminiſh from the credibility of certain miracles, by theſe doubtful or fictitious ones. Every one knows how many ſtories are related after the fourth century, about this matter. But Origen does not mention any ſuch miracles: but in his ſeventh book againſt Celſus, ſays, 'Very many miracles of the holy Spirit were manifeſted at the beginning of Jeſus's doctrine, and after his aſcenſion, but afterwards they were fewer; however there are now ſome footſteps of them in ſome few, whoſe minds are purified by reaſon, and their actions agreeable thereto.' Who can believe that ſo many miracles ſhould be done in one or two centuries after Origen, when there was leſs need of them? Certainly it is as reaſonable to derogate from the credibility of the miracles of the fourth and fifth centuries, as it would be impudent to deny the miracles of Chriſt and his apoſtles. Theſe miracles could not be aſſerted without danger; thoſe could not be rejected without danger, nor be believed without profit to thoſe who perhaps forged them; which is a great difference. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *That they forced Porphyry*, etc.] See Cyril's tenth book againſt Julian, and Jerom againſt a book of Vigilantius.

SECT. VIII. *And of their Writings; becauſe in them are contained many things which the Event proved to be revealed by a divine Power.*

FOR we find in them many predictions concerning things which men could not poſſibly know of themſelves, and which were wonderfully confirmed by the event; ſuch as the ſudden (*a*) and univerſal propagation of this religion; the perpetual continuance of it (*b*); that it ſhould be rejected (*c*) by very many of the Jews, and embraced by ſtrangers (*d*); the hatred (*e*) of the Jews againſt thoſe who profeſſed this religion; the ſevere puniſhments (*f*) they ſhould undergo upon the account of it; the ſiege and deſtruction (*g*) of Jeruſalem and the temple, and the ſore calamities of the Jews (*h*).

(*a*) *Such as the ſudden*, etc.] Mat. xiii. 33. and following verſes; Luke x. 18. John xii. 32.

(*b*) *The perpetual continuance of it*, etc.] Luke i. 33. Mat. xxviii. 20. John xiv. 16.

(*c*) *That it ſhould be rejected*, etc.] Mat. xxi. 33. and following verſes; xxii. at the beginning; Luke xv. 11. and following verſes.

(*d*) *And embraced by ſtrangers*, etc.] In the ſame places, and alſo Mat. viii. 2. xii. 21. xxi. 43.

(*e*) *The hatred of the Jews*, etc.] Matth. x. 17.

(*f*) *The ſevere puniſhments*, etc.] Matth. x. 21, 39. xxiii. 34.

(*g*) *The ſiege and deſtruction*, etc.] Mat. xxiii. 38. xxiv. 16. Luke xiii. 34. xxi. 24.

(*h*) *And the ſore calamities of the Jews*, etc.] Mat. xxi. 33. and following verſes; xxiii. 34. xxiv. 20.

SECT. IX. *And alſo from the Care that it was fit God ſhould take, that falſe Writings ſhould not be forged.*

TO what has been ſaid may be added, that if it be granted, that God takes care of human affairs, and eſpecially thoſe that concern his own honour and worſhip; it is impoſſible he ſhou'd ſuffer ſuch a multitude of men, who had no other deſign than to worſhip him in ſincerity, to be deceived by falſe books. And, after there did ariſe ſeveral ſects in Chriſtianity, there was ſcarce any found, who did not receive either all, or moſt of theſe books, except a few, which do not contain any thing particular in them; which is a very good argument why we ſhould think, that nothing in theſe books could be contradicted; becauſe thoſe ſects were ſo inflamed with hatred againſt each other, that whatſoever pleaſed one, for that very reaſon diſpleaſed another.

SECT. X. *A Solution of that Objection, that many Books were rejected by ſome.*

THERE were indeed amongſt thoſe who were willing to be called Chriſtians, a very few, who rejected all thoſe books which ſeemed to contradict their particular opinion; ſuch as they, who, out of hatred to the Jews, ſpoke ill of the God of the Jews (*a*), of the maker of the world, and

(*a*) *Spoke ill of the God of the Jews*, etc.] See Irenaeus, book i. chap. 29. Tertullian againſt Marcion, and Epiphanius concerning the ſame.

of the law; or, on the contrary, out of fear of the hardſhips that the Chriſtians were to undergo, ſheltered themſelves under the (*a*) name of Jews, that they might profeſs their religion (*b*), without puniſhment. But theſe very men (*c*) were diſowned by all other Chriſtians every where, in thoſe times (*d*), when all pious perſons, that differed from one another, were very patiently born with, according to the command of the apoſtles. The firſt ſort of theſe corrupters of Chriſtianity are, I think, ſufficiently confuted above, where we have ſhewn, that there is but one true God, whoſe workmanſhip the world is: and indeed it is ſufficiently evident, from thoſe very books which they, (that they might, in ſome meaſure, appear to be Chriſtians) receive;

(*a*) *Sheltered themſelves under the name*, etc.] See Gal. ii. 2. vi. 13, 14. Phil. iii 18. Irenaeus, book iii. chap. 28. Epiphanius concerning the Ebionites.

(*b*) *That they might profeſs their religion*, etc.] Acts ix. 20. xiii. and many times in that book. Philo againſt Flaccus, and concerning the Embaſſy; Joſephus every where. To which may be added L. Generaliter, D. de Decurionibus, and Lib. i. C. de Judaeis. Tertullian, in his Apology, ſays, 'But the Jews read their law openly; they generally purchaſe leave by a tribute, which they gather upon all ſabbath-days.'

(*c*) *But theſe very men were diſowned*, etc.] Tertullian, in his firſt againſt Marcion, ſays, 'You cannot find any church of apoſtolical order, who are not Chriſtians out of regard to the Creator.'

(*d*) *In thoſe times*, etc.] See what will be ſaid of this matter at the end of the ſixth book. Add alſo Irenaeus's Epiſtle to Victor, and what Jerom writes concerning it in his Catalogue; and Cyprian in his African council. 'Judging no man, nor removing any one from the

ſuch as the goſpel of St. Luke (*a*) in particular; it is, I ſay, evident, that Chriſt preached the ſame God, which Moſes and the Hebrews worſhipped. We ſhall have a better opportunity to confute the other ſort, when we come to oppoſe thoſe who are Jews, and willing to be called ſo. In the mean time I ſhall add only this, that the impudence of thoſe men is very ſurpriſing, who undervalue the authority of Paul, when there was not any one of the apoſtles who founded more churches; nor of whom there were ſo many miracles related, at that time, when, as was before obſerved, the facts might be eaſily inquired into. And if we believe his miracles, what reaſon is there, why we ſhould not believe him in his heavenly viſions, and in his receiving his inſtructions from Chriſt? If he was ſo beloved of Chriſt, it cannot poſſibly be, that he ſhould teach any thing diſagreeable to Chriſt, that is, any thing falſe; and that one thing, which they find fault with in him, namely, his opinion concerning the freedom procured to the Hebrews, from the rites formerly injoined by Moſes; there could be no reaſon for his teaching it, but the truth; for he was circumciſed (*b*) himſelf, and obſerved moſt of the law (*c*) of his own

right of communion, for his differing in opinion.'

(*a*) *Such as the goſpel of St. Luke*, etc.] Tertullian in his ſixth book againſt Marcion, makes it appear very plainly.

(*b*) *For he was circumciſed*, etc.] Philip. iii. 5.

(*c*) *And obſerved moſt of the law*, etc.] Acts xvi. 3. xx. 6. xxi. and the following chap.

accord: and for the ſake of the Chriſtian religion, he performed things (*a*) much more difficult, and underwent things much harder than the law commanded, or that he had reaſon to expect upon the account of it; and he was the cauſe (*b*) of his diſciples doing and bearing the ſame things: whence it is evident, he did not deliver any thing to pleaſe the ears of his hearers, or for their profit; when he taught them, inſtead of the Jewiſh Sabbath (*c*), to ſpend every day in divine worſhip; inſtead of the ſmall expence the law put them to, to bear the loſs (*d*) of all their goods; and inſtead of offering (*e*) beaſts to God, to offer their own blood to him. And Paul himſelf openly aſſures us, that Peter (*f*), John, and James gave him their right hands, in token of their fellowſhip with him; which, if it had not been true, he would not have ventured to ſay ſo, when they were alive, and could have convicted him of an untruth. Except only thoſe therefore, which I have now mentioned, who

(*a*) *He performed things*, etc.] 2 Cor. xi. 23. and the following verſes; and every where in the Acts. See alſo 1 Cor. xi. 3. 2 Cor. xi. 30. xii. 10.

(*b*) *And he was the cauſe*, etc.] Acts xx. 29. Rom. v. 3. viii. xii. 12. 2 Cor. i. 4, 8. ii. 4. vi. 4. 1 Theſſ. i. 6. 2 Theſſ. i. 6.

(*c*) *Inſtead of the Jewiſh Sabbath*, etc.] Acts ii. 46. v. 42. 1 Tim. v. 5. 2 Tim. i. 3.

(*d*) *To bear the loſs of all*, etc.] 2 Cor. vi. 4. xii. 10.

(*e*) *And inſtead of offering beaſts*, etc.] Rom. viii. 36. 2 Cor. iv. 11. Phil. i. 20.

(*f*) *That Peter, John, and James*, etc.] Gal. ii. 9. and 1 Cor. xv. 11. 2 Cor. xi. 5. xii. 11.

ſcarce deſerve the name of Chriſtians; the manifeſt conſent of all other aſſemblies in receiving theſe books, beſide what has been already ſaid concerning the miracles which were done by the writers of them, and the particular care of God about things of this nature, is ſufficient to induce all impartial men, to give credit to theſe relations; becauſe they are ready to believe many other hiſtorical books which have not any teſtimonies of this kind; unleſs very good reaſon can be given to the contrary; which cannot be done here.

SECT. XI. *An Anſwer to the Objection, of ſome things being contained in theſe Books that are impoſſible.*

FOR if any one ſhould ſay, that there are ſome things related in theſe books that are impoſſible to be done; we have before ſhown (*a*), that there are ſome things which are impoſſible to be done by men, but are poſſible with God; that is, ſuch as do not include any contradiction in themſelves; amongſt which things are to be reckoned thoſe which we account moſt wonderful, the power of working miracles, and calling the dead to life again; ſo that this objection is of no force.

SECT. XII. *Or diſagreeable to Reaſon.*

NOR is there more heed to be given to them who ſay, that there are ſome doctrines to be

(*a*) *We have before ſhewn*, etc.] Book ii.

found in these books, which are inconsistent with right reason. For, first, this may be disproved by that great multitude of ingenious, learned, and wise men, who have relied on the authority of these books, from the very beginning: also, every thing that has been shewn in the first book to be agreeable to right reason, *viz.* that there is a God, and but one, a most perfect Being, all-powerful, loving, wise, and good; that all things which are, were made by him; that his care is over all his works, particularly over men; that he can reward those that obey him after this life; that we are to bridle sensual appetites; that there is a natural relation betwixt men, and therefore they ought to love one another: all these we may find plainly delivered in these books. To affirm any thing more than this for certain, either concerning the nature of God, or concerning his will, by the mere direction (*a*) of human reason, is an unsafe and fallible thing; as we may learn from the many opinions of the schools different from one another, and of all the philosophers. Nor is this at all to be wondered at; for, if they who dispute about the nature of their own minds (*b*), fall into such widely different opinions; must it not necessarily be much more so with them, who would determine

(*a*) *By the mere direction of*, etc.] Mat. xi. 27. Rom. xi. 33, 34, 35. 1 Cor. ii. 11, 16.

(*b*) *About the nature of their own minds*, etc.] See Plutarch's Works, book iv. of the Opinions of the Philosophers. And Stobaeus's Physics, chap. xi.

any thing concerning the ſupreme mind, which is placed ſo much out of our reach? If they who underſtand human affairs, affirm it dangerous to pry into the councils of princes (*a*), and that therefore we ought not to attempt it; who is ſagacious enough to hope, by his own conjectures, to find out which it is, that God will determine of the various kinds of thoſe things that he can freely will? Therefore Plato ſaid very well, that none of theſe things (*b*) could be known without a revelation: and there can be no revelation produced, which can be proved truly to be ſuch, by greater teſtimonies than thoſe contained in the books of the New Teſtament. There is ſo far from being any proof, that it has never yet been aſſerted, that God ever declared any thing to man, concerning his nature, that was contradictory to theſe books; nor can there be any later declaration of his will produced that is credible. And if any thing was commanded or allowed, before Chriſt's time, of thoſe ſort of things which are plainly indifferent, or certainly not at all obligatory of themſelves, nor plainly evil; this does not oppoſe theſe books; becauſe in ſuch things (*c*) the former laws are nulled by the latter.

(*a*) *To pry into the councils of princes*, etc.] Tacitus ſays ſo in the ſixth of his Annals.

(*b*) *None of theſe things could be known*, etc.] The place is in his Phaedon, and alſo in Timaeus. It waswell ſaid by Ambroſe. 'Who ſhould I rather believe concerning God, than God himſelf?'

(*c*) *Becauſe in ſuch things*, etc.] 'The latter conſtitutions are more valid than the

SECT. XIII. *An Answer to this Objection, that some Things are contained in these Books which are inconsistent with one another.*

IT is objected by some, that the sense of these books is sometimes very different: but whoever fairly examines this matter, will find, that, on the contrary, this is an addition to the other arguments, for the authority of these books; that in those places which contain any thing of moment, whether in doctrine or history, there is every where such a manifest agreement, as is not to be found in any other writers of any sect; whether they be Jews (*a*), or Greek philosophers (*b*), or physicians (*c*), or Roman law-

former,' is a saying of Modestinus, L. ultima, D. de Constitutionibus Principum. Tertullian, 'I think, says he, that in human constitutions and decrees, the latter are more binding than the former.' And in his Apology: 'Ye lop and hew down the antient and foul wood of the laws, by the new axes of the decrees and edicts of the princes.' And concerning Baptism: 'In all things we are determined by the latter; the latter things are more binding than those that went before.' Plutarch, Sympos. ix. 'In decrees and laws, in compacts and bargains, the latter are esteemed stronger and firmer than the former.'

(*a*) *Whether they be Jews*, etc.] The different opinions amongst whom, as they are to be seen in other places, so likewise in Manasses the son of Israel, a very learned man in this sort of learning, in his books of the Creation and Resurrection.'

(*b*) *Or Greek philosophers*, etc.] See the forecited book of the Opinion of the Philosophers.

(*c*) *Or Physicians*, etc.] See Galen of Sects, and of the best Sect; and Celsus of Physic, in the beginning; to

yers (*a*); in all which we often find, that not only they of the same sect contradict one another, as Plato and Xenophon do (*b*), but very often the same writer (*c*) sometimes asserts one thing, and sometimes another; as if he had forgot himself, or did not know which to affirm: but these writers, of whom we are speaking, all urge the same things to be believed, deliver the same precepts concerning the life of Christ, his death, and return to life again; the main and principal things are every where the same. And as to some very minute circumstances, which make nothing towards the main thing, we are not wholly at such a loss for a fair reconciliation of them, but that it may easily be made; though we are ignorant of some things, by reason of the similitude of things that were done at different times, the ambiguity of names, one man's or place's having many names, and such like. Nay, this very thing ought to acquit these writers of all suspicion of deceit; because they who bear testimony to that which is

which the Spagirici may be added.

(*a*) *Or Roman lawyers*, etc.] There was a remarkable difference of old, between the Sabiniani and Proculiani; and now betwixt those who follow Bariolus and his followers, and those who follow Cujacius, and others who were more learned. See Gabriel's Common, more Common, and most Common Sentences.

(*b*) *As Plato and Xenophon, do*, etc.] See Xenophon's Epistle to Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. Athenaeus I. Laertius's life of Plato; and Gellius, book xiv.

(*c*) *But very often the same writer*, etc.] Many have shewn this of Aristotle; and others of the Roman lawyers.

falſe, are uſed to relate all things (*a*) ſo by agreement, that there ſhould not be any appearance of difference. And if, upon the account of ſome ſmall difference, which cannot be reconciled, we muſt immediately diſbelieve whole books; then there is no book, eſpecially of hiſtory, to be believed; and yet Polybius, Halicarnaſſenſis, Livy, and Plutarch, in whom ſuch things are to be found, keep up their authority amongſt us in the principal things; how much more reaſonable then is it, that ſuch things ſhould not deſtroy the credibility of thoſe whom we ſee, from their own writings, to have always a very great regard to piety and truth! There remains another way of confuting teſtimonies, from contrary external teſtimonies.

SECT. XIV. *An Anſwer to the Objection from external Teſtimonies: where it is ſhown, that they make more for theſe Books.*

BUT I confidently affirm, that there are no ſuch things to be found; unleſs any one will reckon amongſt theſe, what is ſaid by thoſe who were born a long while after; and they ſuch who profeſſed themſelves enemies to the name of

(*a*) *Are uſed to relate all things*, etc.] This is what the emperor Adrian affirms; in witneſſes, we are to examine whether they offer one and the ſame premeditated ſpeech: L. Teſtium D. de Teſtibus. Speculator, lib. i. parte iv. de Teſte in pr. n. 81. A very exact knowlege of all circumſtances is not neceſſary in a witneſs. See Luke i. 56. iii. 23. John ii. 6. vi. 10, 19. xix. 14.

Chriſt, and who therefore ought not to be looked upon as witneſſes. Nay, on the contrary, though there is no need of them, we have many teſtimonies, which confirm ſome parts of the hiſtory delivered in theſe books. Thus that Jeſus was crucified, that miracles were done by him and his diſciples, both Hebrews and heathens relate. Moſt clear teſtimonies of Joſephus, publiſhed a little more than forty years after Chriſt's death, are now extant, concerning Herod, Pilate, Feſtus, Felix, John the Baptiſt, Gamaliel, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; which are exactly agreeable to what we find amongſt the writers of the Talmud, concerning thoſe times: the cruelty of Nero, towards the Chriſtians, is mentioned by Tacitus: and formerly there were extant books of private perſons, ſuch as Phlegon (*a*), and the public Acts (*b*) to which the Chriſtians appealed; wherein they agreed (*c*)

(*a*) *Such as Phlegon*, etc.] Book xiii. of his Chronicon, or Olympiads, in theſe words: 'In the fourth year of the CCII Olympiad, there happened the greateſt eclipſe of the ſun that ever was known; there was ſuch a darkneſs of night at the ſixth hour of the day, that the ſtars were ſeen in the heavens; and there was a great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned a great part of Nicaea.' Theſe words are to be ſeen in Euſebius's and Jerom's Chronicon. And Origen mentions the ſame thing, Tract. xxxv. upon Matthew, and in his ſecond againſt Celſus.

(*b*) *And the public Acts*, etc.] See Tertullian's Apology, cxxi. 'This event which has befallen the world, you find related in your myſtical books.'

(*c*) *Wherein they agreed*, etc.] Chalcidius the platoniſt, in his Commentary on Timaeus. 'There is another more holy and more vene-

about the ſtar that appeared after the birth of Chriſt; about the earthquake, and the preternatural eclipſe of the ſun at full moon, about the the time that Chriſt was crucified.

SECT. XV. *An Anſwer to the Objection of the Scriptures being altered.*

I SEE no other objection can be made againſt theſe books, unleſs it be that they have not continued to be the ſame, as they were at the beginning. It muſt be owned, that, as in other books, ſo in theſe, it might happen, and has happened, that thro' careleſſneſs or perverſeneſs in the tranſcribers, ſome letters, ſyllables, or words, may be changed, omitted, or added. But it is very unreaſonable (*a*), that becauſe of ſuch a difference

rable hiſtory, which relates the appearance of a new ſtar, not to foretel diſeaſes and death, but the deſcent of a venerable God; who was to preſerve mankind, and to ſhow favour to the affairs of mortals; which ſtar the wiſe men of Chaldaea obſerving, as they travelled in the night, and being very well ſkilled in viewing the heavenly bodies, they are ſaid to have ſought after the new birth of this God; and having found that majeſty in a child, they paid him worſhip, and made ſuch vows as were agreeable to ſo great a God.'

(*a*) *But it is very unreaſonable*, etc.] This is now very manifeſt, from the moſt accurate collection of the various readings of the New Teſtament, and eſpecially from the edition of Dr. Mills. Though there is a great variety, yet no new doctrine can be raiſed from thence, nor any received one confuted; no hiſtory of any moment, in regard to the truth of the Chriſtian religion, which was before believed from the books of the New Teſtament, is on that account to be rejected; nor any that was before unknown,

of copies, which could not but happen in ſo long time, there ſhould ariſe any controverſy about the Teſtament or Book itſelf; becauſe both cuſtom and reaſon require, that that ſhould be preferred before the reſt, which is to be found in the moſt antient copies. But it can never be proved, that all the copies are corrupted by fraud, or any other way, eſpecially in thoſe places which contain any doctrine, or remarkable point of hiſtory; for there are no records that tell us that they were ſo, nor any witneſſes in thoſe times: and if, as we before obſerved, any thing be alleged by thoſe who lived a long time after, and who ſhew the moſt cruel hatred againſt thoſe who were defenders of theſe books; this is to looked upon as reproach, and not teſtimony. And this which we have now ſaid, may ſuffice in anſwer to thoſe, who object that the ſcripture may have been altered: becauſe he that affirms this, eſpecially againſt a writing which has been received ſo long and in ſo many places, ought himſelf to prove (*a*) that which he preſumes. But that the folly of this objection may more plainly appear, we will ſhow that that which they imagine to be, neither is, nor can be done. We have before proved theſe books to have been wrote by thoſe whoſe names they bear; which being granted,

to be collected from the various readings. And what is ſaid of the books of the New Teſtament, the ſame we are to conceive ſaid of the Old Teſtament. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *Ought himſelf to prove*, etc.] L. ult. C. de Edicto Divi Adriani tollendo.

it follows, that one book is not forged for the ſake of another. Neither is any remarkable paſſage altered; for ſuch an alteration muſt have ſomething deſigned by it, and then that part would plainly differ from thoſe other parts and books which are not altered, which is no where to be ſeen; nay, as we obſerved, there is a wonderful harmony in the ſenſe every where. Moreover, as ſoon as any of the apoſtles or apoſtolical men publiſhed any thing, doubtleſs the Chriſtians took great care to have many copies of it, as became pious perſons, and ſuch as were deſirous of preſerving and propagating the truth to poſterity; and theſe were therefore diſperſed, as far as the name of Chriſt extended itſelf, through Europe, Aſia, and Egypt, in which places the Greek language flouriſhed; and, as we before obſerved, ſome of the original copies were preſerved for two hundred years. Now, no book, of which ſo may copies had been taken, that were kept, not by ſome few private perſons, but by the care of whole churches, can be corrupted (*a*). To which we may add, that in the very next ages theſe books were tranſlated into the Syriac, Æthiopic, and Latin tongues; which verſions are now extant, and do not any where differ from

(*a*) *Can be corrupted*, etc.] That is, ſo as that it ſhould run through all the copies, and corrupt all the verſions; for otherwiſe wicked men, who are obſtinately bent on their own opinions, may here and there corrupt their ow copies; as not only Marcion did, but alſo ſome library-keepers, who had a better judgment; as we have ſhown in our Ars Critica, part iii. ſect. 1. c. xiv. Le Clerc.

the Greek books in any thing of moment. And we have the writings of thoſe who were taught by the apoſtles themſelves, or their diſciples, who quote a great many places of theſe books in that ſenſe which we now underſtand them. Nor was there at that time, any one in the church, of ſo great authority, as to have been obeyed, if he had deſigned to alter any thing; as is ſufficiently manifeſt from the liberty taken by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, to differ from thoſe who were of the higheſt rank in the church. And after the times now mentioned, many others followed, who were men of great learning, and as great judgment; who, after a diligent enquiry, received thoſe books, as retaining their original purity. And further, what we have now ſaid concerning the different ſects of Chriſtians, may be applied here alſo, that all of them, at leaſt all that own God to be the Creator of the world, and Chriſt to be a new lawgiver, make uſe of theſe books as we now have them. If any attempted to put in any thing, they were accuſed of forgery by the reſt. And that no ſect was allowed the liberty to alter theſe books, according to their own pleaſure, is ſufficiently evident from hence, that all ſects fetched their arguments againſt the reſt from hence. And what we hinted concerning the divine providence, relates as much to the principal parts, as to the whole books; that it is not agreeable thereto, that God ſhould ſuffer ſo many thouſand men, who were regardful of piety, and ſought after eternal life

with a ſincere intention, to fall into an error that they could not poſſibly avoid. And thus much may ſuffice for the books of the New Teſtament, which if they were alone extant, were ſufficient to teach us the true religion.

SECT. XVI. *The Authority of the Books of the Old Teſtament.*

BUT ſince God has been pleaſed to leave us the records of the Jewiſh religion, which was of old the true religion, and affords no ſmall teſtimony to the Chriſtian religion; it is not foreign to our purpoſe to ſee upon what foundation the credibility of theſe is built. That theſe books are theirs, to whom they are aſcribed, appears in the ſame manner, as we have proved of our books. And they whoſe names they bear, were either prophets, or men worthy to be credited; ſuch as Eſdras, who is ſuppoſed to have collected them into one volume, at that time, when the prophets Haggai, Malachi, and Zacharias were yet alive. I will not here repeat what was ſaid before in commendation of Moſes. And not only that firſt part, delivered by Moſes, as we have ſhewn in the firſt book, but the latter hiſtory is confirmed by many Pagans. Thus the Phoenician (*a*) Annals mention the names of David

(*a*) *Thus the Phœnician Annals*, etc.] See what Joſephus cites out of them, book viii. ch. 2. of his Antient Hiſtory; where he adds, that if any one would ſee the copies of thoſe epiſtles, which Solomon and Hirom wrote to each other, they may be procured of the public keepers of the

and Solomon, and the league they made with

records at Tyrus, (we must be cautious how we believe this; however, see what I have said upon 1 Kings v. 3.) There is a remarkable place concerning David, quoted by Josephus, book vii. c. 6. of his Antient History, out of the fourth of Damascenus' History. 'A long while after this, there was a certain man of that country, who was very powerful, his name was Adadus, who reigned in Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, except Phoenice: he waged war with David king of Judea, and having fought many battles, the last was at Euphrates, where he was overcome: he was accounted one of the best of kings for strength and valour: after his death, his children reigned for ten generations, each of them continuing his father's government and name, in the same manner as the Egyptian kings are called Ptolemies. The third being the most potent of them all, being willing to recover the victory his grandfather had lost, made war upon the Jews, and laid waste that which is now called Samaria.' The first part of this history we have in 2 Sam. viii. 5. 1 Chron. xviii. and the latter part in 1 Kings xx. where see Josephus. This Adadus is called by Josephus, Adar; and Adores by Justin, out of Trogus. Eusebius in his Gospel Preparation, book iv. chap. 30. tells us more things concerning David, out of Eupolemus. And the forementioned Josephus, in the same chapter, and in his first against Appion, brings this place out of Dius's Phoenician History. 'After Abibalus' death, his son Hirom reigned; this man increased the eastern part of the city; and much enlarged the city; and he joined Jupiter Olympius's temple to the city, which before stood by itself in an island, by filling up the space between; and he adorned it with the gifts of gold offered to the gods; he also went up to Libanus, and cut down wood to adorn the temple with. And they say that Solomon, who reigned in Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hirom, and received some from him; and he that could not resolve the riddles was to pay a large sum of money. Afterwards Abdemonus, a man of Tyre, resolved the riddles that were proposed, and sent

the Tyrians. And Berosus, as well as the He-

others, which Solomon not resolving, paid a large sum of money to Hirom.' He afterwards adds a famous place of Menander, the Ephesian, who wrote the affairs of the Greeks and Barbarians. 'After Abibalus's death, his son Hirom succeeded in the government; he lived thirty-four years, and inclosed a large country, and erected the golden pillar in Jupiter's temple. He afterwards cut down wood from the mountain called Libanus, cedar trees for the roof of the temple, and pulled down the old temples, and built new. He consecrated the grove of Hercules and Astarte. He first laid the foundation of Hercules's in the month Peritius, and afterwards Astarte's, about the time that he invaded the Tityans for not paying tribute, and returned after having reduced them. About this time there was one Abdemonus a young man, who overcame, in explaining the riddles proposed by Solomon the king of Jerusalem. The time from this king, to the building of Carthage, is reckoned thus. After Hirom's death, Beleazar his son succeeded in the kingdom, who lived forty-three years, and reigned seven. After him was his son Abdastratus, who lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine. This man was slain by the four children of his nurse, who laid in ambush for him; the eldest of which reigned twelve years. After these was Astartus, the son of Delaestartus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. After him came his brother Astergmus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine: this man was killed by his brother Pheletes, who siezed the kingdom, and reigned eight months; he lived fifty years; he was slain by Ithobalus the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight. He was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six. His successor was Matgemus his son, who lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine: he was succeeded by Pygmalion, who lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty seven. In his seventh year, his sister, who fled from him, built the city of Carthage in Lybia.' Theophilus Antiochenus, in his third book to Autolychus, has set down this place of Me-

nander, but has contracted it. Tertullian in his Apology, chap. 19. ſays, 'We muſt look into the records of the moſt antient nations, Egyptians, Chaldaeans, Phoenicians, by whom we are ſupplied with knowlege. Such as Manethon the Egyptian, or Beroſus the Chaldaean, or Hirom the Phoenician, king of Tyre; and their followers, Mendeſius Ptolomaeus, and Menander the Epheſian, and Demetrius Phalereus, and king Juba, and Appion, and Thallus.' This Hirom, and Solomon, who was cotemporary with him, are mentioned alſo by Alexander Polyhiſtor, Menander, Pergamenus, and Laetus in the Phoenician accounts, as Clemens affirms, Strom. I. whence we may correct Tatian, who wrote Χαῖτος, *Chaetus*, for Λαῖτος, *Laetus*, who is reported to have tranſlated into Greek, what Theodotus, Hypſicrates, and Mochus wrote about Phoenicia. The memory of Hazael king of Syria, whoſe name is in 1 Kings xix. 15 2 Kings viii. 11. xii. 17. xiii. 3, 24. is preſerved at Damaſcus, with divine worſhip, as Joſephus relates, book ix. c. 2. of his Antient Hiſtory. The ſame name is in Juſtin, out of Trogus. Concerning Salmanaſar, who carried the ten tribes into captivity, as it is related in 2 Kings xviii. 3, *etc.* and who took Samaria, 2 Kings xviii. 9. there is a place of Menander the Epheſian, which I mentioned before, in Joſephus, book ix. chap. 14. 'Elulaeus reigned thirty-ſix years; this man, with a fleet, reduced the Cittaeans, who revolted from him. But the king of Aſſyria ſent an army againſt them, and brought war upon all Phoenicia; and having made peace with them all, returned back again. But Sidon, Arce, Palaetyrus, and many other cities who had yielded themſelves to the king of Aſſyria, revolted from the Tyrian government; yet the Tyrians not ſubmitting, the king of Aſſyria returned upon them again, after he had received from the Phoenicians, ſixty ſhips and eight hundred rowers. Againſt which, the Tyrians coming out with twelve ſhips, broke their enemies ſhips in pieces, and took five hundred men priſoners; hereupon the price of every thing was raiſed in Tyre. Then the king of Aſſyria departed, and placed guards upon the river, and upon the water-pipes, that they might hinder the Tyrians from drawing any; and this they did for five years,

brew books, mention Nabuchadonoſor (*a*), and

and they were forced to drink out of wells which they digged.' Joſephus adds in the ſame place, that Salmanaſar, the name of this king, remained till his time in the Tyrian records. Sennacherib, who ſubdued almoſt all Judea, except Jeruſalem, as it is related, 2 Kings xviii. 13. 2 Chron. xxxii. 1. Iſaiah xxxvi. 1. his name and expeditions into Aſia and Egypt are found in Beroſus's Chaldaics, as the ſame Joſephus teſtifies, book x. ch. 1. and Herodotus in his ſecond book mentions the ſame Sennacherib, and calls him king of the Arabians and Aſſyrians. Baladan, king of Babylon is mentioned in 2 Kings xx. 12. and Iſaiah xxxix. And the ſame name is in Beroſus's Babylonics, as Joſephus teſtifies in his Antient Hiſtory, book x. chap. 3. Herodotus mentions the battle in Mageddo, in which Nechao king of Egypt overcame the Jews; (which hiſtory is in 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. Zach. xii. 1.) in the foreſaid ſecond book, in theſe words. 'And Necho encountered the Syrians, (for ſo Herodotus always calls the Jews, as do others alſo,) in a land battle, and overcame them in Magdolus.'

(*a*) *Nabuchadonoſor*, etc.] Concerning him, Joſephus has preſerved us a place of Beroſus, in the tenth of his Ancient Hiſtory, and in his firſt book againſt Appion; which may be compared with Euſebius, who, in his Chronicon about theſe times, and in his Preparation, book ix. chap. 40, 41. produces this and the following place of Abydenus. 'Nabopallaſarus his father, hearing that he who was appointed governor over Egypt, and the places about Coelo-Syria and Phoenice, had revolted, being himſelf unable to bear hardſhips, he inveſted his ſon Nabuchadonoſor, who was a young man, with part of his power, and ſent him againſt him. And Nabuchadonoſor, coming to a battle with the rebel, ſmote him, and took him, and reduced the whole land to his ſubjection again. It happened about this time, that his father Nabopallaſarus fell ſick, and died, in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty nine years. Nabuchadonoſor, in a little time, hearing of the death of his father, after he had put in order his affairs in Egypt,

and the reſt of the country, and committed to ſome of his friends the power over the captives of the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and the people about Egypt, and ordered every thing that was left of any uſe, to be conveyed to Babylon, he himſelf, with a few, came through the wilderneſs to Babylon; where he found affairs ſettled by the Chaldaeans, and the government maintained under one of the moſt eminent amongſt them, ſo that he inherited his father's kingdom entire; and having taken a view of the captives, he ordered them to be diſperſed by colonies, throughout all the proper places in the country about Babylon. And he richly adorned the temple of Belus and others, with the ſpoils of the war; and he renewed the antient city of Babylon, by adding another to it; ſo as that afterwards, in a ſiege, the river might never be turned out of its courſe to aſſault the city. He alſo encompaſſed the city with three walls within, and three without, ſome made of tile and pitch, others of tile alone. The city being thus well walled, and the gates beautifully adorned; he added to his father's palace a new one, far exceeding it in height and coſtlineſs; to relate the particulars of which would be tedious. However, as exceeding great and beautiful as it was, it was finiſhed in fifteen days; on this palace he built very high walks of ſtone, which, to the ſight, appeared like mountains, and planted them with all ſorts of trees, and made what they call a penſile garden for his wife, who was brought up in Media, to delight herſelf with the proſpect of the mountainous country. After he had begun the forementioned wall, he fell ſick and died, having reigned forty-three years.* This wife of Nabuchadonoſor, is Nitocris, according to Herodotus, in his firſt book, as we learn from the great Scaliger, in his famous Appendix to the Emendation of time. Theſe things are explained by Curtius, in his fifth book, to which I refer you; and partly by Strabo, book xv. and Diodorus, book ii. Beroſus out of whom we have quoted theſe things, and thoſe before, was the prieſt of Belus, after Alexander the Great's time; to whom the Athenians erected a ſtatue with a golden tongue, in the public gaming-place, for his divine

predictions. This is mentioned by Pliny, book vii. chap. 37. of his Natural History. Athenaeus in his fifteenth, calls his book Babylonica. Tatian, (who himself also affirms, that Berosus mentions Nabuchadonosor,) and Clemens call it Chaldaica. King Juba confesses, that he took out hence what he wrote concerning the affairs of Syria, as Tatian observes. He is also mentioned by Vitruvius, and by Tertullian in his Apology, and by the writer of the Alexandrian Chronicon. Eusebius, both in his Chronicon, and in the end of the ninth of his Preparation, tells us, that Nabuchadonosor is mentioned also in Abydenus, who wrote of the Assyrians: the words are these. 'Megasthenes says, that Nabuchodrosorus was stronger than Hercules, and waged war against Lybia and Iberia, and having overcome them, he planted them in several colonies on the right shore of the sea. And the Chaldaeans relate, moreover, concerning him, that as he was going into his palace on a certain time, he was inspired by a god, and spake the following words. 'I Nabuchodrosorus foretel a sad calamity that will befal you, O Babylonians; which neither Belus, our forefather, nor queen Beltis could persuade the fates to avert: there shall come a Persian mule, who, assisted by your gods, shall bring slavery upon you; Medus, the glory of the Assyrians, will also help to do this. I wish, that before he betrays his countrymen, some Charybdis, or sea, would swallow him up and destroy him; or that he were directed another way, through the wilderness, where there are no cities, or footsteps of men, where the wild beasts feed, and the birds fly about: that he might wander solitary amongst the rocks and dens, and that a happy end had overtaken me, before these things were put into my mind." Having prophesied this, he suddenly disappeared." Compare this last with that which is said of this Nabuchadonosor, in the book of Daniel; the first out of Megasthenes we have also in Josephus, book x. Chap. ii. of his Antient History; and he says it is in the fourth of his Indian history. Eusebius likewise has this concerning Nabuchadonosor, out of Abydenus. 'It is reported, (of the place where Babylon stands,) that at first it was all

water, called sea, but Belus drained it, and allotted to every one his portion of land, and incompassed Babylon with a wall, which time has worn out. But Nabuchadonosor walled it again, which remained till the Macedonian empire; and it had brazen gates.' And a little after: 'When Nabuchadonosor came to the government, in fifteen days time, he walled Babylon with a triple wall, and he turned out of their course the rivers Armacale and Acrecanus, which is an arm of Euphrates. And for the city of the Sipparenians, he digged a pool forty furlongs round, and twenty fathom deep; and made sluices to open, and water the fields; they call them guides to the Aquaeducts. He also built up a wall to exclude the Red-Sea; and he rebuilt Teredon, to hinder the incursions of the Arabians; and he planted his palace with trees, called the Pensile Gardens.' Compare this with Dan. iv. 27. And Strabo, book xv. quotes these words also out of the same Magasthenes. 'Nabuchadonosor, whose fame amongst the Chaldaeans is greater than Hercules, went as far as the pillars.' There were others who touched upon the history of this king, but we have only the names of them remaining. Diocles in the second of his Persian history, and Philostratus, in that of the Indians and Phoenicians who says that Tyre was besieged by him thirteen years, as Josephus tells us, in the forecited place of his Antient History, and in his first book against Appion, where he quotes the following words out of the public Acts of the Phoenicians. 'When Ithobalus was king, Nabuchadonosor besieged Tyre thirteen years. After him, Baal reigned ten years; after him, judges were appointed to govern Tyre; Eccibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdaius, ten months; Abbarus, the high-priest, three months; Mutgonus and Geraastratus, the sons of Abdelinus, were judges six years; betwixt whom Belatorus reigned one. After his death they sent and fetched Cerbalus from Babylon; he reigned four years. After his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. In his time, Cyrus the Persian flourished.' For the exact agreement of this computation, with the sacred books, see Josephus in the forecited book against Ap-

other Chaldeans (*a*). Vaphres (*b*), the king of

pion; where follows, in Josephus, these words concerning Hecataeus. 'The Persians, says he, drew many millions of us to Babylon.' And concerning the war of Sennacherib, and Nabuchadonosor's captivity, see the place of Demetrius in Clemens, Strom. i. [Hecataeus' authority is very litle to the purpose, because he is a spurious writer. See Ger. J. Vossius upon the Greek historians. Le Clerc.]

(*a*) *And other Chaldeans*, etc.] After the forecited words of Berosus, follow these, according to Josephus, in both the places now mentioned. 'His son Evilmaradoch was made head of the kingdom; he managed affairsunjustly and wantonly; after he had reigned two years he was treacherously slain by Nerigliſſoroorus, who married his sister; after his death, Nerigliſſoroorus, who thus killed him, possessed the government, and reigned four years. His son Laborosoarchodus, a youth, reigned nine months; but because there appeared in him many evil dispositions, he was slain by the treachery of his friends. After his death, they who killed him, agreed to devolve the government upon Nabonnidus, a certain Babylonian, who was also one of the conspirators. In this reign the walls of the city Babylon, along the river, where beautified with burnt brick and pitch. In the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia, with a great army, and having subdued all the rest of Asia, he came as far as Babylon; Nabonnidus, hearing of his coming, met him with a great army also, but he was overcome in the battle, and fled away with a few, and shut up himself in the city of the Borsippeni. Then Cyrus having taken Babylon, ordered the outward walls of the city to be razed, because the people appeared to be very much given to change, and the town hard to be taken; and went from thence to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnidus; but he not enduring the siege, yielded himself immediately; whereupon Cyrus treated him kindly, and giving him Carmania to dwell in, he sent him out of Babylonia; and Nabonnidus passed the remainder of his days in that country, and died there.' Eusebius, in the forementi-

Egypt in Jeremiah, is the ſame with Apries in Herodotus (*c*). And the Greek books are filled with Cyrus (*d*) and his ſucceſſors down to

oned place, has preſerved the following words of Abydenus, immediately after thoſe now quoted concerning Nabuchadonoſor. 'After him reigned his ſon Evilmaruruchus: his wife's brother Neriglaſarus, who ſlew him, left a ſon, whoſe name was Laboſſoaraſcus. He dying by a violent death, they made Nabannidachus king, who was not related to him. Cyrus, when he took Babylon, made this man governor of Carmania.' This Evilmerodach is mentioned by name, in 2 Kings xxv. 27. Concerning the reſt, ſee Scaliger. That of Cyrus' taking Babylon agrees with this of Herodotus. 'So Cyrus made an irruption as far as Babylon; and the Babylonians, having provided an army, expected him: as ſoon as he approached the city, the Babylonians fought with him; but to ſave themſelves from being beaten, they ſhut themſelves up in the city.' Compare this with the fifty-firſt of Jeremiah, 20, 30, 31. Concerning the flight at Borſippe, ſee Jeremiah li. 39. Concerning the drying up the river's channel, Herodotus agrees with Jeremiah, li. 39. The words of Herodotus are, 'He divided the river, bringing it to a ſtanding lake, ſo that he made the antient current paſſable, having diverted the river.' It is worth conſidering, whether what Diodorus relates in his ſecond book concerning Beleſis the Chaldaean, may not have reſpect to Daniel, whoſe name, in Chaldee, was Beltaſhazzar, Dan. i. 7. [The truth of what we read in ſcripture, concerning the Chaldaean kings, is ſtrongly confirmed by the chronology of the aſtronomical canon of Nabonaſſar, as you may ſee in Sir John Marſham's Chronological Canon. Le Clerc.]

(*b*) *Vaphres, the king of Egypt*, etc.] So the Seventy and Euſebius tranſlated the Hebrew word חָפְרַע *Chephre*. He was contemporary with Nabuchadonoſor.

(*c*) *Is the ſame with Apries in Herodotus*, etc.] Book ii.

(*d*) *Are filled with Cyrus*, etc.] See the places already quoted, and Diodorus Siculus, book ii. and Cteſias in his Perſics; and Juſtin, book iv.

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Darius (*a*); and Joſephus in his book againſt Appion, quotes many other things relating to the Jewiſh nation: to which may be added that which we above took out of Strabo and Trogus (*b*). But there is no reaſon for us Chriſtians to doubt of the credibility of theſe books, becauſe there are teſtimonies in our books, out of almoſt every one of them, the ſame as they are found in the Hebrew. Nor did Chriſt, when he blamed many things in the teachers of the law, and in the Phariſees of his time, ever accuſe them of falſifying the books of Moſes and the prophets,

chap. 5. and the following. The foundation of the temple of Jeruſalem was laid in Cyrus's time, and was finiſhed in Darius's, according to Beroſus, as Theophilus Antiochenus proves.

(*a*) *Down to Darius*, etc.] Codomannus. See the forementioned perſons, and Æſchylus' account of Perſia, and the writers of the affairs of Alexander. In the time of this Darius, Jaddus was the high prieſt of the Hebrews, Nehem. xii. 22. the ſame that went out to meet Alexander the Great, according to the relation of Joſephus, in his Antient Hiſtory, book xi. 8. At this time lived Hecataeus Abderita, ſo famous in Plutarch, in his book concerning Iſis, and Laertius in Pyrrho; he wrote a ſingle book concerning the Jews, whence Joſephus, in book ii. againſt Appion, took a famous deſcription of the city and temple of Jeruſalem; which place we find in Euſebius, book ix. chap. 9. of his Goſpel Preparation; and in each of them, there is a place of Clearchus, who commends the Jewiſh wiſdom, in the words of Ariſtotle. And Joſephus, in the ſame book, names Theophilus, Theodoret, Mnaſeas, Ariſtophanes, Hermogenes, Enemerus, Conoron, Zopyrion, and others, as perſons who commended the Jews, and gave teſtimony concerning the Jewiſh affairs.

(*b*) *Out of Strabo and Trogus*, etc.] Book i.

or of uſing ſuppoſititious or altered books. And it can never be proved or made credible, that after Chriſt's time, the ſcripture ſhould be corrupted in any thing of moment; if we do but conſider how far and wide the Jewiſh nation, who every where kept thoſe books, was diſperſed over the whole world. For firſt, the ten tribes were carried into Media by the Aſſyrians, and afterwards the other two. And many of theſe fixed themſelves in foreign countries, after they had a permiſſion from Cyrus to return; the Macedonians (*a*) invited them into Alexandria with great advantages; the cruelty of Antiochus, the civil war of the Aſmonaei, and the foreign wars of Pompey and Soſſius, ſcattered a great many; the country of Cyrene was filled with Jews (*b*); the cities of Aſia (*c*), Macedonia (*d*), Lycao-

(*a*) *The Macedonians invited them*, etc.] Hecataeus, tranſcribed by Joſephus, in his firſt book againſt Appion, ſpeaking of the Jews. 'Not a few, (*viz.* thouſands, as appears from the foregoing words) after the death of Alexander, went into Egypt and Phoenicia, by reaſon of the commotions in Syria.' To which we may add that of Philo againſt Flaccus. 'There are no leſs than ten hundred thouſand Jews inhabitants of Alexandria, and the country about it, from the lower parts of Lybia, to the borders of Æthiopia.' See moreover Joſephus, book xii. chap. 2, 3. and the following book xiii. ch. 4,—8. xviii. 10. And the Jews were free of Alexandria, Joſephus, xiv. 1.

(*b*) *The country of Cyrene was filled with Jews*, etc.] See Joſephus, book xvi. 10. of his Antient Hiſtory, Acts vi. 9. xi. 20.

(*c*) *The cities of Aſia*, etc.] Joſephus xii. 3. xiv. 17. xvi. 4. Acts xix.

(*d*) *Macedonia*, etc.] Acts xvii.

nia (*a*), and the isles of Cyprus (*b*), and Crete (*c*), and others, were full of them; and that there was a vast number of them in Rome (*d*), we learn from Horace (*e*), Juvenal (*f*), and Martial (*g*). It is impossible that such distant bodies of

(*a*) *Lycaonia*, etc.] Acts xiv. 18.

(*b*) *And the Isles of Cyprus*, etc.] Acts xiii. 5.

(*c*) *And Crete*, etc.] Acts ii. 11.

(*d*) *In Rome*, etc.] Josephus, xvii. 5. of his Antient History. Acts xviii. 2. xxviii. 17.

(*e*) *Horace*, etc.] Book i. Sat. iv.

——————— *For we are many,*
And like the Jews, will force you to our side.

And Sat. v.

——————— *Let circumcised Jews believe it.*

And Sat. ix.

——————— *This is the thirtieth Sabbath*, etc.

(*f*) *Juvenal*, etc.] Sat. ix.

Some are of parents born, who Sabbaths keep.

And what follow, Sat. xiv.

(*g*) *Martial*, etc.] III. 4.

The Sabbath-keepers fasts.

And in other places; as vii. 29, and 34. xi. 97. xii. 57. To which we may add that of Rutilius, book i. of his Itinerary.

I wish Judaea ne'er had been subdu'd,
By Pompey's war, or Titus's command,
The more suppress'd, the dire contagion spreads,
The conquered nation crush the conqueror.

Which is taken out of Seneca, who said of the same Jews; 'The customs of the most wicked nation have prevailed so far, that they are embraced all the world over; so that the conquered give laws to the conquerors.' The place is in Augustin, book iv. chap. 2. of the City of

men ſhould be impoſed upon by any art whatſoever, or that they ſhould agree in a falſity. We may add further, that almoſt three hundred years (*a*) before Chriſt, by the care of the Egyptian kings, the Hebrew books were tranſlated into Greek, by thoſe who are called the Seventy; that the Greeks might have them in another language, but the ſenſe the ſame in the main; upon which account they were the leſs liable to be altered. And the ſame books were tranſlated into Chaldee, and into the Jeruſalem language; that is, half Syriac; partly a little before (*b*), and partly a little after (*c*) Chriſt's time. After which, followed other Greek verſions, that

God: he calls them the moſt wicked nation, only for this reaſon, becauſe their laws condemned the neglect of the worſhip of one God, as we obſerved before; upon which account, Cato Major blamed Socrates. To which may be added the teſtimony of Philo, in his Embaſſy, on the vaſt extent of the Jewiſh nation. 'That nation conſiſts of ſo great a number of men, that it does not, like other nations, take up one country only, and confine itſelf to that; but poſſeſſes almoſt the whole world; for it overſpreads every continent and iſland, that they ſeem not to be much fewer than the inhabitants themſelves.' Dion Caſſius, book xxxvi. concerning the Jewiſh nation, ſays, 'That though it has been often ſuppreſſed, it has increaſed ſo much the more, ſo as to procure the liberty of eſtabliſhing its laws.'

(*a*) *That almoſt three hundred years*, etc.] See Ariſtæus and Joſephus, book xii. 2.

(*b*) *Partly a little before*, etc.] By Onkelos, and perhaps by Jonathan.

(*c*) *And partly a little after*, etc.] By the writer of the Jeruſalem Targum, and by Joſephus Caecus, or by him, whoever he was, one man or many, who tranſlated Job, Pſalms, Proverbs, and what they call the Hagiography.

of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; which Origen, and others after him, compared with the ſeventy interpreters, and found no difference in the hiſtory, or in any weighty matters. Philo flouriſhed in Caligula's time, and Joſephus lived till Veſpaſian's. Each of them quote, out of the Hebrew books, the ſame things that we find at this day. By this time the Chriſtian religion began to be more and more ſpread, and many of its profeſſors were Hebrews (*a*): many had ſtudied the Hebrew learning (*b*), who could very eaſily have perceived and diſcovered it, if the Jews had received any thing that was falſe, in any remarkable ſubject, I mean, by comparing it with more ancient books. But they not only do this, but they bring very many teſtimonies out of the Old Teſtament, plainly in that ſenſe in which they are received amongſt the Hebrews; which Hebrews may be convicted of any crime, ſooner than (I will not ſay of falſity, but) of negligence, in relation to theſe books; becauſe they uſed to tranſcribe (*c*) and compare them ſo very ſcrupu-

(*a*) *And many of its profeſſors were Hebrews*, etc.] Or next to Hebrews, as Juſtin, who was a Samaritan.

(*b*) *Many had ſtudied the Hebrew learning*, etc.] As Origen, Epiphanius, and eſpecially Jerom.

(*c*) *Becauſe they uſed to tranſcribe*, etc.] Joſephus in his firſt book againſt Appion. 'It is very manifeſt, by our deeds, how much credit we give to our own writings; for after ſo many ages paſt, no one has preſumed to add, take away, or change any thing.' See the law, Deut. iv. 1. and the Talmud inſcribed Shebnoth. [We are to underſtand this of the time after the Maſora; for it was otherwiſe before, in the time of their common-

louſly, that they could tell how often every letter came over. We may add, in the laſt place, an argument, and that no mean one, why the Jews did not alter the ſcripture deſignedly; becauſe the Chriſtians prove, and as they think very ſtrongly, that their maſter Jeſus was that very Meſſiah who was of old promiſed to the forefathers of the Jews; and this from thoſe very books which were read by the Jews. Which the Jews would have taken the greateſt care ſhould never have been, after there aroſe a controverſy between them and the Chriſtians, if it had ever been in their power to have altered what they would.

wealth; and after it was overturned by the Chaldaeans, they were not ſo accurate as is commonly thought. This is evident from Lud. Capellus' Critics upon the Bible, and from the commentaries of learned men upon the Old Teſtament, and likewiſe from Grotius's own Annotations. And we alſo have ſhewn it to be ſo on the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament. Le Clerc.]

BOOK IV.

SECT. I. *A particular Confutation of the Religions that differ from Chriſtianity.*

THE fourth book (beginning with that pleaſure that men, for the moſt part, take at the ſight of other men's danger, when they themſelves are placed out of the reach of it,) ſhews, that the principal aim of a Chriſtian ought to be, not only a ſatisfaction upon his having found out the truth himſelf, but alſo an endeavour to aſſiſt others, who wander in various crooked paths of error, and to make them partakers of the ſame happineſs. And this we have, in ſome meaſure, attempted to do in the foregoing books, becauſe the demonſtration of the truth contains in it the confutation of error. But, however, ſince the particular ſorts of religion, which are oppoſed to Chriſtianity, as Paganiſm, Judaiſm, and Mahometaniſm, for inſtance; beſides that which is common to all, have ſome particular errors, and ſome ſpecial arguments, which they uſe to oppoſe us with; I think it may not be foreign to our preſent purpoſe to attempt a particular examination of every one of them; in the mean time, beſeeching our readers to free their judgment from all paſſion and prejudice which clog the underſtanding; that they may the more impartially determine concerning what is to be ſaid.

SECT. II. *And firſt of Paganiſm. That there is but one God. That created Beings are either good or bad. That the good are not to be worſhipped without the Command of the ſupreme God.*

AND firſt againſt the Heathens, we ſay, if they ſuppoſe many gods, eternal and equal, this is ſufficiently confuted in the firſt book; where we have ſhewn that there is but one God, the cauſe of all things. If by gods they mean created beings ſuperior to man, theſe are either good or bad; if they ſay they are good, they ought, in the firſt place, to be very well aſſured of this, leſt they fall into great danger (*a*), by entertain-

(*a*) *Leſt they fall into great danger*, etc] 2 Cor. xii. 14. Porphyry, in his ſecond book about abſtaining from eating Animals, ſays, that 'by thoſe who are oppoſite (*to the gods*,) all witchcraft is performed; for both theſe and their chief are worſhipped by all ſuch as work evil upon men's fancies by inchantments; for they have a power to deceive by working ſtrange things: by them evil ſpirits prepare philtres and love-potions; all incontinence, and love of riches and honour, and eſpecially deceit, proceed from them; for it is natural to them to lye; they are willing to be thought gods; and the higheſt of them in power to be eſteemed god.' And afterwards concerning the Egyptian prieſts; 'Theſe put it paſt all diſpute, that there are a kind of beings, who give themſelves up to deceive; of various ſhapes and ſorts; diſſemblers, ſometimes aſſuming the form of gods or daemons, or of ſouls of dead men; and by this means, they can effect any ſeeming good or evil: but as to things really good in themſelves, ſuch as thoſe belonging to the ſoul; of producing theſe, they have no power, neither have they

ing enemies inſtead of friends, deſerters inſtead of ambaſſadors. And reaſon alſo requires, that there ſhould be ſome manifeſt difference in the worſhip, betwixt the ſupreme God and theſe beings: and further, we ought to know of what rank theſe beings are, what benefit we may expect from any of them, and what honour the ſupreme King would have us pay to them. All which things being wanting in their religion, it ſufficiently appears from thence, that there is nothing of certainty in it; and it would be much ſafer for them to betake themſelve to the worſhip of the one ſupreme God; which even Plato owned (*a*) to be the duty of a wiſe man; becauſe, as good beings are the miniſters of the ſupreme God, they cannot but be aſſiſting (*b*) to ſuch as are in favour with him.

any knowlege of them; but they abuſe their leiſure, mock others, and hinder thoſe who walk in the way of virtue; they are filled with pride, and delight in perfumes and ſacrifice.' And Arnobius, book iv. againſt the Gentiles. 'Thus the magicians, brethren to the ſoothſayers in their actions, mention certain beings, oppoſite to God, who often impoſe upon men for true gods. And theſe are certain ſpirits of groſſer matter, who feign themſelves to be gods.' Not to tranſcribe too much, we find ſomething to the ſame purpoſe in Jamblichus, concerning the Egyptian myſteries, book iii. chap. 33. and book iv. chap. 17.

(*a*) *Which even Plato owned*, etc.] 'Jupiter is worſhipped by us, and other gods by others.' The words are quoted by Origen, in his eighth book againſt Celſus.

(*b*) *They cannot but be aſſiſting*, etc.] This is very well proſecuted by Arnobius, book iii.

SECT. III. *A Proof that evil Spirits were worſhipped by the Heathens, and the unfitneſs of it ſhown.*

BUT that the Spirits to which the pagans paid their worſhip were evil, and not good, appears from many ſubſtantial arguments. Firſt, becauſe they did not direct (*a*) their worſhippers to the worſhip of the ſupreme God; but did as much as they could to ſuppreſs ſuch worſhip, or at leaſt, were willing in every thing to be equalled with the ſupreme God in worſhip. Secondly, becauſe they were the cauſe of the greateſt miſchiefs coming upon the worſhippers of the one ſupreme God, provoking the magiſtrates and the people to inflict puniſhments upon them: for, though they allowed their poets the liberty to celebrate the murders and adulteries of their gods; and the Epicureans to baniſh the divine providence out of the world; nor was there any other religion ſo diſagreable in its rites, but they admitted it into their ſociety, as the Egyptian, Phrygian, Greek, and Thuſcan rites at Rome; yet the Jews were every where ridiculed (*b*), as appears from their ſatires and epigrams, and were ſometimes

(*a*) *Becauſe they did not direct*, etc.] This is very well treated of by Auguſtin, book x. chap. 14, 16, 19. of his City of God.

(*b*) *Yet the Jews were every where ridiculed*, etc.] As being cropt, circumciſed, Sabbath-keepers, worſhippers of the clouds and heavens, merciful to ſwine.

baniſhed (*a*); and the Chriſtians (*b*) had moreover the moſt cruel puniſhments inflicted upon them: for which there can be no other reaſon aſſigned, but becauſe theſe two ſects worſhipped one God, whoſe honour the gods they eſtabliſhed, oppoſed, being more jealous of them than of one another. Thirdly, from the manner of their worſhip, ſuch as is unworthy of a good and virtuous mind: by human blood (*c*), by men's running naked about their temples (*d*), by games and dancings (*e*), filled with uncleanneſs; ſuch as are now to be ſeen amongſt the people of America and Africa, who are overwhelmed in the darkneſs of Heatheniſm. Nay, more than this; there were of old, and ſtill are, people who worſhip evil ſpirits, which they know and own to be ſuch; as the Arimanes of the Perſians (*f*), the Cacodae-

(*a*) *And were ſometimes baniſhed*, etc.] Joſephus, xviii. 5. Tacitus, Annal. ii. Seneca, Epiſt. cix. Acts xviii. 1. Suetonius in Tiberius, c. xxxvi.

(*b*) *And the Chriſtians had moreover*, etc.] Tacitus, An. xv. to which that of Juvenal relates,

——— ——— *You like a torch ſhall burn,*
As they who flaming ſtand, ſtifled with ſmoke,
And with their body's print, have mark'd the ground.

(*c*) *By human blood*, etc.] See what was ſaid of this, book ii.

(*d*) *By men's running naked about*, etc.] As in their rites dedicated to Pan. See Livy, book i. Plutarch in Antonius, and others.

(*e*) *By games and dancings*, etc.] As in the rites of Flora. See Ovid's Faſti, book iv. and Tatian, and Origen, in his eighth againſt Celſus.

(*f*) *As the Arimanes of the Perſians*, etc.] See Plutarch's Iſis and Oſiris, and Diogenes Laertius, in his Preface. [See alſo Thomas Stanley, of

mons of the Greeks, and the Vejoves of the Latins (*a*); and ſome of the Ethiopians and Indians now have others; than which nothing can be imagined more impious. For, what elſe is religious worſhip, but a teſtimony of the exceeding goodneſs, which you acknowlege to be in him whom you worſhip? which, if it be paid to an evil ſpirit, is falſe and counterfeit, and comprehends in it the ſin of rebellion; becauſe the honour due to the king, is not only taken from him, but transferred to a deſerter and his enemy. And it is a fooliſh opinion to imagine, that a good God will not revenge this, becauſe that is not agreeable to his goodneſs; for clemency (*b*), if it be reaſonable, hath its proper bounds; and where the crimes are very great, juſtice itſelf forces puniſhment, as it were, neceſſarily. Nor are they leſs blameable, who ſay, that they are driven by fear to pay obedience to evil ſpirits; for he who is infinitely good, is alſo in the higheſt degree ready to communicate; and therefore all other beings were produced by him. And if it be ſo, it will follow, that he hath an abſolute right over all creatures, as his own workmanſhip; ſo that nothing can be done by any of them, if he deſires to hinder it: which being

the Philoſophy of the Perſians; and our Obſervations upon the word *Arimanes* in the Index. Le Clerc.]

(*a*) *And the Vejoves of the Latins*, etc.] Cicero, book iii. of the Nature of the Gods.

(*b*) *For clemency, if it be reaſonable*, etc.] 'How can you love, unleſs you be afraid not to love?' Tertullian firſt againſt Marcion.

granted, we may eaſily collect, that evil ſpirits cannot hurt him who is in favour with the moſt high God, who is infinitely good; any further, than that God ſuffers it to be done for the ſake of ſome good. Nor can any thing be obtained of evil ſpirits, but what ought to be refuſed; becauſe a bad being (*a*), when he counterfeits one that is good, is then worſt; and the gifts of enemies are only ſnares (*b*).

SECT. IV. *Againſt the Heathen Worſhip paid to departed Men.*

THERE have been, and now are, Heathens, who ſay, that they pay worſhip to the ſouls of men departed this life. But here, in the firſt place, this worſhip is alſo to be diſtinguiſhed, by manifeſt tokens, from the worſhip of the ſupreme God. Beſides, our prayers to them are to no purpoſe, if thoſe ſouls cannot aſſiſt us in any thing; and their worſhippers are not aſſured of this, nor is there any more reaſon to affirm that they can, than that they cannot: and what is worſt of all, is, that thoſe men, who are thus had in honour, are found to have been remarkable for very great vices. A drunken Bacchus, an effeminate Hercules, a Romulus, unnatural to his brother, and a Jupiter, as unnatural to his Father. So that their honour is a reproach to the true God, and

(*a*) *Becauſe a bad being*, etc.] See the verſes of Syrus the Mimic.

(*b*) *The gifts of enemies are only ſnares*, etc.] Sophocles:

Enemies gifs are no gifts, no advantage.

that goodneſs, which is well-pleaſing to him; becauſe it adds a commendation (*a*) from religion, to thoſe vices, which are ſufficiently flattering of themſelves.

SECT. V. *Againſt the Worſhip given to the Stars and Elements.*

MORE antient than this (*b*) was the worſhip of the ſtars, and what we call the elements, fire, water, air, and earth; which was indeed a very great error. For prayers are a principal part of religious worſhip, which, to put up to any but beings that have underſtanding, is very fooliſh; and that what we call the elements are not ſuch, is evident in a good meaſure from experience. If any one affirms otherways of the ſtars, he has no proof of it, becauſe no ſuch thing can be gathered from their operations, which are the only ſigns to judge of beings by. But the contrary

(*a*) *Becauſe it adds a commendation*, etc.] See an example hereof in Terence's Eunuch, Act iii. Scene v. Cyprian, Epiſt. ii. 'They imitate thoſe gods they worſhip; the religion of thoſe wretched creatures is made up of ſin.' Auguſtine, Epiſt. cliſ. 'Nothing renders men ſo unſociable, by perverſeneſs of life, as the imitation of thoſe whom they commend and deſcribe in their writings. Chalcidius in Timaeus; 'So it comes to paſs, that inſtead of that gratitude that is due to divine providence from men, for their original and birth; they return ſacrilege.' See the whole place.

(*b*) *More antient than this*, etc.] There are reaſons to perſuade us, that idolatry began with the worſhip of angels and the ſouls of men, as you may ſee, in the Index to the Oriental Philoſophy, at the word *Idololatria*. Le Clerc.

may be ſufficiently collected from the motion of them, which is not various, like that of creatures endued with freedom of will, but certain and determinate (*a*). We have elſe where ſhown, that the courſe of the ſtars is adapted to the uſe of man; whence man ought to acknowlege, that he, in his better part, bears a nearer reſemblance to God, and is dearer to him; and therefore ought not to derogate ſo much from his own high birth, as to place himſelf below thoſe things which God has given him; and he ought to give God thanks for them, which is more than they can do for themſelves, or at leaſt, more than we are aſſured of.

SECT. VI. *Againſt the Worſhip given to brute Creatures.*

BUT that which is of all things moſt abominable, is, that ſome men, particularly the Egyptians, fell into the worſhip even of beaſts (*b*). For, though in ſome of them, there do appear, as it were, ſome ſhadow of underſtanding, yet it is nothing compared with man; for they cannot expreſs their inward conceptions, either by di-

(*a*) *But certain and determinate*, etc.] By which argument, a certain king of Peru was perſuaded to deny that the ſun could be a god. See the Hiſtory of the Incas.

(*b*) *Fell into the worſhip even of beaſts*, etc.] Concerning whom, Philo, in his Embaſſy, ſays, 'They eſteem dogs, wolves, lions, crocodiles, and many other wild creatures in the water and on the land, and birds, as gods.' To which may be added, a long Diſcourſe of this matter, in the firſt book of Diodorus Siculus.

ſtinct words or writings; nor do they perform actions of different kinds, nor thoſe of the ſame kind in a different manner; and much leſs can attain to the knowlege of number, magnitude, and of the celeſtial motions. But on the other hand, man, by his cunning and ſubtilty (*a*),

(*a*) *Man by his cunning and ſubtilty*, etc.] Euripides in Æolus.

Man has but little ſtrength,
Yet can by various arts,
Tame the wildeſt creatures
In ſea, or earth, or air.

And Antiphon:

They us in ſtrength, we them in art, exceed.

Which affords us no bad explication of Geneſis i. 26. and Pſalm viii. 8. He that deſires a larger diſcourſe of this matter, may look into Oppian, in the beginning of his fifth book of Fiſhing, and Baſil's tenth Homily, on the ſix days creation. Origen, in his fourth book againſt Celſus, has theſe words. 'And hence you may learn, for how great a help our underſtanding was given us, and how far it exceeds all the weapons of wild beaſts; for our bodies are much weaker than thoſe of other creatures, and vaſtly leſs than ſome of them; yet, by our underſtanding, we bring wild beaſts under our power, and hunt huge elephants: and thoſe whoſe nature is ſuch, that they may be tamed, we make ſubject to us; and thoſe that are of a different nature, or the taming of which, ſeems to be of no uſe to us, we manage theſe wild beaſts with ſuch ſafety, that as we will, we keep them ſhut up, or if we want their fleſh for meat, we kill them, as we do other creatures that are not wild. Whence it appears, that the Creator made all living creatures ſubject to him, who is endued with reaſon, and a nature capable of underſtanding him.' Claudius Neapolitanus, in Porphyry's firſt book againſt eating Living Creatures, ſpeaks thus concerning man. 'He is lord over all creatures, void of reaſon, as God is over men.'

can catch the ſtrongeſt creatures, wild beaſts, birds, or fiſhes; and can, in ſome meaſure, bring them under rules, as elephants, lions, horſes, and oxen; he can draw advantage to himſelf, out of thoſe that are moſt hurtful, as phyſic from vipers; and this uſe may be made of them all, which themſelves are ignorant of, that by viewing the ſtructure and ſituation of the parts of their bodies, and comparing together their ſeveral ſpecies and kinds, he learns his own excellency, and how much more perfect and noble the frame of the human body is, than others; which, if rightly conſidered, is ſo far from inclining him to worſhip other creatures, that he ſhould rather think himſelf appointed their God, in a manner, under the ſupreme God.

SECT. VII. *Againſt the Worſhip given to thoſe Things which have no real Exiſtence.*

WE read, that the Greeks and Latins, and others likewiſe, worſhipped things, which had no real exiſtence, but were only the accidents of other things. For, not to mention thoſe outragious things, fever (*a*), impudence, and ſuch like; health is nothing elſe, but a juſt temperature of the parts of the body; and good fortune, a correſpondence of events with the wiſhes of men; and the affections, ſuch as love, fear, anger, hope, and the like, ariſing from the conſideration of the goodneſs or badneſs, the eaſineſs or

(*a*) *Fever, impudence, and ſuch like*, etc.] See Tully's third book of Laws.

difficulty of a thing, are certain motions, in that part of the mind, which is moſt cloſely connected with the body, by means of the blood; and they have no power of their own, but are ſubject to the command of the will, which is miſtreſs of them, at leaſt as far as reſpects their continuance and direction. So likewiſe the virtues, which have different names. Prudence, which conſiſts in the choice of what is advantageous; fortitude, in undergoing dangers; juſtice, in abſtaining from what is not our own; temperance, in moderating pleaſure, and the like: there is alſo a certain diſpoſition or inclination towards that which is right, which grows upon the mind by long exerciſe; which, as it may be increaſed, ſo it may be diminiſhed by neglect, nay, it may entirely be deſtroyed in a man. And honour (*a*), to which we read of temples being dedicated, is only the judgment of one concerning another, as endued with virtue; which often happens to the bad, and not to the good, through the natural aptneſs of mankind to miſtake. Since, therefore, theſe things have no real exiſtence (*b*), and cannot be compared in excellence, with thoſe that have a real exiſtence; nor have any know-

(*a*) *And honour, to which we read,* etc.] Tully in the formentioned place; and Livy, book xxvii.

(*b*) *Since, therefore, theſe things have no real exiſtence,* etc.] Perhaps ſome may explain this worſhip of the heathens in this manner; as to ſay, that it was not ſo much the things, which were commonly ſignified by thoſe words, that they worſhipped; as a certain divine power, from which they flowed, or certain ideas in the divine underſtanding. Thus they might be ſaid to worſhip *a fever*,

lege of our prayers, or veneration of them, it is moſt diſagreeable to right reaſon to worſhip them as God; and he is rather to be worſhipped upon their account, who can give us them, and preſerve them for us.

SECT. VIII. *An Anſwer to the Objection of the Heathens, taken from the Miracles done amongſt them.*

THE Heathens uſed to recommend their religion by miracles; but they were ſuch as were liable to many exceptions. For the wiſeſt men amongſt the heathens themſelves rejected many of them, as not ſupported by the (*a*) teſti-

not the diſeaſe itſelf, which is ſeated in the human body; but that power, which is in God, of ſending or abating a fever; to worſhip *impudence*, not that vice which is ſeated in the minds of men; but the will of God, which ſometimes allows men's *impudence* to go on, which he can reſtrain and puniſh: and the ſame may be ſaid of the reſt, as love, fear, anger, hope, which are *paſſions*, which God can either excite or reſtrain: or of *virtues*, which are perfect in the divine nature, and of which we ſee only ſome faint reſemblances in men, ariſing from the ideas of thoſe virtues which are moſt complete in God. And of *honour*, which does not conſiſt ſo much in the eſteem of men, as in the will of God, who would have virtue honourable amongſt men. But the heathens themſelves never interpreted this matter thus; and it is abſurd to worſhip the attributes and ideas of God as real perſons, under obſcure names, ſuch as may deceive the common people. It is much more ſincere and honeſt to worſhip the Deity himſelf without any perplexities. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *As not ſupported by the teſtimony*, etc.] So Livy, in the beginning. 'I do not deſign either to affirm or deny thoſe things related before, or upon the building of

mony of ſufficient witneſſes, but plainly counterfeit (*a*): and thoſe that ſeem to have been done, came to paſs in ſome ſecret place, in the night, before one or two perſons, whoſe eyes might eaſily be deceived with a falſe appearance of things, by the cunning of the prieſts. There were ſome, which only cauſed the people, who did not underſtand the nature of things, eſpecially their occult qualities, to wonder at them; much in the ſame manner, as if any one ſhould draw iron with a loadſtone, before people, who knew nothing of it; and it is related by many, that theſe were the arts (*b*) in which Simon and Apollonius Tyanaeus were ſo ſkilful. I do not deny, but that ſome greater than theſe were ſeen, which could not be the effect of natural cauſes, by human power alone; but they were ſuch as did not require a power truly divine, that is, omnipo-

the city; as fitter for poetic fables, than the ſincere memorials of affairs that were tranſacted; thus much muſt be allowed antiquity, that by mixing human things with divine, the original of cities was rendered the more venerable.'

(*a*) *But plainly counterfeit*, etc.] It were much better to acquieſce in this anſwer, than to allow of their miracles, or that ſuch things were done, as men could not diſtinguiſh from true miracles; ſuch as oracles, wonders, curing of diſeaſes, which, if they were done, could ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed from true miracles, at leaſt by the common people. See what I have ſaid upon this matter in the Prolegomena to my Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Sect. ii. c. 1. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *That theſe were the arts*, etc.] Tatian. 'There are certain diſeaſes and contrarieties of the matter of which we are compounded; when theſe happen, the Daemons aſcribe the cauſes of them to themſelves.'

tent; for theſe ſpirits, who were inferior to God, and ſuperior to man, were ſufficient for theſe things; becauſe by their ſwiftneſs, ſtrength, and cunning, they could eaſily remove diſtant things, and ſo to compound different ſorts of things, as to produce effects which ſhould be very ſurprizing to men. But the ſpirits by whom this was effected, were not good, and conſequently neither was their religion good; as is evident from what was ſaid before, and from this conſideration alſo, becauſe they ſaid that they were compelled by certain inchantments (*a*) againſt their will: and yet the wiſeſt heathens agreed, that there could not poſſibly be any ſuch force in words; but that they could only perſuade, and

(*a*) *By certain inchantments*, etc.] Thus the oracle of Hecate in Porphyry.

I come, invoked by well conſulted prayers,
Such as the gods have to mankind reveal'd.

And again,

Why have you call'd the goddeſs Hecate
From heaven; and forc'd her by a charm divine.

And that of Apollo in the ſame writer,

Hear me, for I am forc'd to ſpeak againſt my will,

Theſe are the rites of their ſecret arts, by which they addreſs themſelves to I know not what powers, as Arnobius expreſſes it, as if they compelled them by charms to be their ſervants; ſo Clemens explains it. There is a form of their threats in Jamblichus, book iv. chap. 5, 6, 7. of his Egyptian Myſteries. The ſame we meet with in Lucan, book ix. in the words of Pompey the Leſs, and in Euſebius, out of Porphyry, book v. chap. 10. of his Goſpel Preparation. Other forms of threatnings, you have in Lucan, where he ſpeaks of Erichthon; and in Papinius about Tireſias.

this according to the manner of their interpretation. And a further ſign of their wickedneſs is, that they would undertake many times to entice ſome to the love of others (*a*), notwithſtanding their own endeavours againſt it, either by falſe promiſes, or by doing them ſome hurt; which things were forbidden by human laws (*b*), as witchcraft. Neither ought any one to wonder, that the ſupreme God ſhould ſuffer ſome miracles to be done by evil ſpirits; becauſe they who were already fallen from the worſhip of the true God, deſerve to be deluded by ſuch deceits (*c*). But this is an argument of their weakneſs, that their works were not attended with any remarkable good; for if any ſeemed to be called to life again, they did not continue long in it, nor exerciſe the functions of living perſons. If at any time, any thing proceeding from a divine power, appeared in the ſight of the heathens; yet it was not foretold, that it would come to paſs, in order to prove the truth of their religion; ſo that nothing hinders but the divine power might

(*a*) *To entice ſome to the love of others*, etc.] See the Pharmaceutria of Theocritus and Virgil, and the confeſſion of Porphyry in Euſebius, book v. chap. 17. of his Preparation; and Auguſtin, book x. c. 11. of his City of God. And the ſame Porphyry againſt eating Living Creatures, book ii. and Origen againſt Celſus, book vii.

(*b*) *Which things were forbidden by human laws*, etc.] L. ejuſdem. Sect. Adjectio D. ad Legem Corneliam de Sicariis et Veneficis. L. ſi quis ſect. qui abortionis. D. de Poenis. Paulus Sententiarum, lib. v. Tit. xxiii.

(*c*) *Deſerved to be deluded by ſuch deceits*, etc.] Deut. xiii. 3. 2 Theſſ. ii. 9, 10. Eph. ii. 2, 3.

propoſe to itſelf ſome other end, widely different from this. For inſtance, ſuppoſe it true, that a blind man was reſtored to his ſight by Veſpaſian; it might be done to render him more (*a*) venerable upon this account; and that he might thereby the more eaſily obtain the Roman empire; and was therefore choſen by God, to be the executioner of his judgments upon the Jews; and other like reaſons there might be, for other wonders, which had no relation at all to religion (*b*).

SECT. IX. *And from Oracles.*

AND almoſt all the ſame things may be applied to ſolve that which they allege concerning oracles; eſpecially what was before ſaid, that ſuch men deſerved to be impoſed upon, who de-

(*a*) *To render him more venerable*, etc.] Tacitus, Hiſt. iv. 'Many miracles were done, whereby the favour of heaven, and the good diſpoſition of the gods towards Veſpaſian, appeared.' He had ſaid before, in Hiſt. i. 'We believe that after previous good luck, the empire was decreed to Veſpaſian and his children, by the ſecret law of fate, and by wonders and oracles.' Suetonius uſhers in his relation of the ſame miracles thus, c. 7. 'There was a certain authority and majeſty wanting, *viz.* in a new and unthought of prince, to which this was added.' See the ſame Suetonius a little before, chap. 5. Joſephus ſays of the ſame Veſpaſian, book iii. chap. 27. of the Wars of the Jews; 'That God raiſed him up to the government, and foretold him of the ſceptre by other ſigns.'

(*b*) *Which had no relation*, etc.] But ſee the Examination of Miracles, feigned to be done in favour of Veſpaſian and Adrian, in my Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Cent. ii. 138th year. Le Clerc.

ſpiſed that knowlege which reaſon and antient tradition ſuggeſted to every man. Moreover, the words of the oracles were, for the moſt part, ambiguous (*a*), and ſuch as might be interpreted of the event, be it what it would. And if any thing was more particularly foretold by them, there is no neceſſity of its proceeding from an omniſcient being; becauſe either they were ſuch as might be perceived beforehand, from natural cauſes then appearing, as ſome phyſicians foretel future diſeaſes (*b*); or they might, with probability, be conjectured, from what we uſually ſee come to paſs; which we read was often done by thoſe who were ſkilful in civil matters (*c*). And

(*a*) *Were for the moſt part ambiguous*, etc.] See the places of Oenomaus, concerning this ſubject, in Euſebius, book iv. chap. 20,—26. Hence Apollo was by the Greeks called Λοξίας, *Ambiguus*. Cicero, in his ſecond book of Divination, ſays, the oracles of Apollo were ambiguous and obſcure. 'Which ſoever of them come to paſs, ſays he, the oracle was true.' (Perhaps many of the oracles were counterfeited after the event: and there are many reaſons to ſuſpect, that abundance of frauds were uſed by diviners; concerning which, M. de Fontenelle has wrote an excellent book in French, which I refer you to, and what is ſaid in defence of it, vol. xiii. of the Choice Library; and what Antony Van Dale has wrote of this matter above all others, in his book of oracles.)

(*b*) *As ſome phyſicians foretel future diſeaſes*, etc.] Chalcidius on Timaeus. 'Men are forewarned, either by the flying of birds, or by entrails, or by oracles, ſome propitious demons, foretelling, who knew all things that will afterwards come to paſs: juſt as a phyſician, according to the rules of phyſic, declares either death or health; and as Anaximander and Pherecydes did an earthquake.' Pliny, book ii. c. 79.

(*c*) *By thoſe who were ſkilful in civil matters*, etc.] See

if at any time, God made uſe of any of thoſe works, done by the diviners among the heathens, to foretel ſuch things, as could have no other real foundation but the will of God; it did not tend to confirm the heathen religion, but rather to overthrow it; ſuch as thoſe things we find in Virgil's fourth Eclogue (*a*), taken out of

the writer of the life of Atticus. 'A plain evidence of this thing, beſides thoſe books wherein he [Cicero] mentions it expreſly, (which are publiſhed among the common people,) are ſixteen volumes of epiſtles ſent to Atticus, from his conſulſhip to the end of his days; which whoever reads will not think that he wants a complete and regular hiſtory of thoſe times; there is ſuch a full diſcription of the inclinations of princes, of the vices of great men, and of the alterations of the republic, that there is nothing which is not laid open; ſo that one would be eaſily led to think prudence to be a kind of divination. For Cicero did not only foretel future things that would happen in his own life-time; but, like a diviner, declared thoſe alſo that came to paſs lately.' Cicero affirms truly of himſelf, in his ſixth epiſtle of his ſixteenth book: 'In that war, nothing happened ill, which I did not foretel. Wherefore, ſince I who am a public augur, like other augurs and aſtrologers, by my former predictions, have confirmed you in the authority of augury and divination; you ought to believe what I foretel. I do not make my conjecture, from the flying of birds, nor from the manner of their chirping, as our art teaches us, nor from the rebounding of the corn that falls from the chickens mouths, nor from dreams; but I have other ſigns, which I obſerve.' Thus Solon foretold that great calamities would come upon Athens from Munychia. And Thales, that the Forum of the Mileſii would one time be in a place then deſpiſed. Plutarch in Solon.

(*b*) *In Virgil's fourth Eclogue*, etc.] See Auguſtine's City of God, book x. chap. 27.

the Sibylline Verſes; in which (*a*), though unknown to himſelf, he deſcribes the coming of Chriſt, and the benefits we ſhould receive from him. Thus in the ſame Sibyls, that he was to be acknowleged as king (*b*), who was to be truly our king; who was to riſe out of the eaſt (*c*), and be Lord of all things. The oracle of Apollo (*d*)

(*a*) *In which, though unknown*, etc.] It is now ſufficiently evident, that all the prophecies of the Sybils are either doubtful or forged; wherefore I would not have Virgil, an interpreter of the Sibyl, be thought to have declared a kind of prophecy without any deſign; like Caiaphas, who was ignorant of what he propheſied. I know not what Sibyl, or rather perſon, under the diſguiſe of ſuch a one, predicted, that the golden age was a coming; from the opinion of thoſe, who thought that there would be a renovation of all things, and that the ſame things would come to paſs again. See what Grotius has ſaid of this matter, book ii. ſect. 10. and the notes upon that place. Wherefore in this, the Sibyl was not a propheteſs, nor did Virgil write thence any prophecies of Chriſt; ſee Servius upon the place, and Iſaac Voſſius' Interpretation of that Eclogue. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *He was to be acknowleged as king*, etc.] Cicero mentions him, in his ſecond book of Divination.

(*c*) *Who was to riſe out of the eaſt*, etc.] Suetonius of Veſpaſian, chap 4. Tacitus, Hiſt. 4.

(*d*) *The oracle of Apollo*, etc.] See Auguſtine of the City of God, book xx. chap. 23. and Euſebius' Preparation, book iv. chap. 4. And the ſame Porphyry, in his book of Oracles, ſays, 'The God [Apollo] teſtifies, that the Egyptians, Chaldaeans, Phoenicians, Lydians, and Hebrews, are they who have found out the truth.' He that wrote the Exhortation to the Greeks, amongſt the works of Juſtin, quotes this oracle.

The Hebrews only and Chaldees are wiſe,
Who truly worſhip God the eternal king.

is to be ſeen in Porphyry (*a*); in which, he ſays, the other Gods were aerial ſpirits, and that the one God of the Hebrews was to be worſhipped: which words, if the worſhippers of Apollo obeyed, they ceaſed to be his worſhippers; if they did not obey him, they accuſed their God of a lye. To which may be added, that if theſe ſpirits would, in their oracles, have conſulted the good of mankind; they would, above all things, have propoſed to them a general rule of life, and aſſured them of a reward, which they, who ſo lived, might expect: but they did neither of

And this,

Who the firſt mortal form'd, and call'd him Adam.

There are two oracles of Cato's concerning Jeſus, which Euſebius in his Goſpel Demonſtration tranſcribed out of Porphyry.

Souls of their bodies ſtript, immortal are,
This wiſe men know; and that which is endued
With greateſt piety, excels the reſt.
The ſouls of pious men to heaven aſcend,
Though various torments do their bodies vex.

The ſame are mentioned by Auguſtine, book xxix. c. 23. of his City of God, out of the ſame Porphyry; where he brings another oracle, in which Apollo ſaid, that the Father, whom the pious Hebrews worſhipped, was a law to all the gods.

(*a*) *In Porphyry*, etc.] This is juſtly enough ſaid upon Porphyry, and thoſe who are of the ſame opinion with him, concerning thoſe oracles; and may be brought as an argument *ad hominem*, as logicians call it; but ſince it does not appear, that theſe oracles were not feigned; nay, there are very good reaſons to think they were fictitious, they ought to be of no weight amongſt Chriſtians. Le Clerc.

them. On the contrary, they many times (*a*), in their verſes, applauded kings, though never ſo wicked; decreed divine honours to champions (*b*), enticed men to unlawful embraces (*c*), to purſue unjuſt gain (*d*), and to commit murder (*e*); which may be evidenced by many inſtances.

SECT. X. *The Heathen Religion rejected, becauſe it failed of its own accord, as ſoon as human Aſſiſtance was wanting.*

BESIDES thoſe things already alleged, the heathen religion affords us a very ſtrong argument againſt itſelf, in that whereſoever human force was wanting, it immediately fell, as if its only ſupport were then taken away. For if you turn your eyes towards all the Chriſtian or mahometan empires, you will find heatheniſm no where mentioned but in books; nay hiſtory inform us, that in thoſe times, when the emperors made uſe of force and puniſhment, as the firſt emperors did; or of learning and cunning, as

(*a*) *They many times in their verſes*, etc.] See thoſe alleged by Oenomaus, in Euſebius's Goſpel Preparation, book v. chap. 23, 35.

(*b*) *Decreed divine honours to champions*, etc.] See the ſame author, chap. 32. of Cleomedes; which we find alſo in Origen's third book againſt Celſus.

(*c*) *Enticed men to unlawful embraces*, etc.] This was ſhown before.

(*d*) *To purſue unjuſt gain*, etc.] See Euſebius's Goſpel Preparation, book v. chap. 22.

(*e*) *And to commit murder*, etc.] Oenomaus recites oracles of this kind, which you may find in the forementioned book of Euſebius, chap. 19, 27.

Julian did, to ſupport the heathen religion; even then, it continually decreaſed; no force being made uſe of againſt it, no greatneſs of family, (for it was commonly believed that Jeſus was the ſon of a carpenter,) no flouriſh of words, no bribes, for they were poor; no flattery, for they, on the contrary, deſpiſed all advantages, and ſaid there was no adverſity but they ought to undergo, upon account of their law. And now, how weak muſt the heathen religion be, to be overthrown by ſuch weak helps? Nor did the vain credulity of the heathens only vaniſh at this doctrine, but ſpirits (*a*) themſelves came out of men, at the name of Chriſt; were ſilenced; and being aſked the reaſon of their ſilence, were forced to own (*b*), that they could do nothing when Chriſt was invoked.

SECT. XI. *An Anſwer to this, that the Riſe and Decay of Religion is owing to the Stars.*

THERE were ſome philoſophers who aſcribed the riſe and decay of all religion to the ſtars. But this ſtarry ſcience, which they profeſs to know and underſtand, is delivered in ſuch different rules, that there is nothing certain to be

(*a*) *But ſpirits themſelves came out of men,* etc.] Acts v. 16. viii. 7. xvi. 18.

(*b*) *Were forced to own,* etc.] Tertullian, in his Apology. See alſo Lucan againſt falſe Diviners. Apollo in Daphne. 'This place, Daphne, is filled with dead bodies, which hinder the oracles.' Babylas and other Chriſtian martyrs died there. See Chryſoſtom againſt the Gentiles.

found in it (*d*); but this one thing, that there is no certainty in it. I do not ſpeak of thoſe effects, which naturally follow from neceſſary cauſes; but of ſuch as proceed from the will of man (*b*), which is in its own nature ſo far free, as that no external neceſſity can be laid upon it: for if the act of willing flowed from ſuch a neceſſary impreſſion, that power which we experience in the ſoul (*c*), of deliberating and chuſing, would be given us to no purpoſe; and the juſtice of all laws (*d*), and of rewards and puniſhments, would be entirely taken away; becauſe there is neither blame nor deſert due to that which is plainly unavoidable. Further, ſince ſome actions of the will are evil: if they are cauſed by a certain ne-

(*a*) *That there is nothing certain to be found in it*, etc.] See the excellent Diſſertation of Bardeſanes the Syrian, concerning this matter; which you may find in the Philocalia collected from Origen, and in Euſebius' Preparation, book vi. chap. 10.

(*b*) *But of ſuch as proceed from the will of man*, etc.] See Alexander Aphroſidaeus' book, concerning this matter.

(*c*) *That power which we experience*, etc.] See Euſebius' Goſpel Preparation, book vi. chap. 6.

(*d*) *And the juſtice of all laws*, etc.] See Juſtin's Apology ii. 'If mankind be not endued with a power of chuſing freely, to avoid that which is bad, and to comply with that which is good, the cauſe of either of them cannot be ſaid to be from himſelf.' See alſo what follows. And thus Tatian; 'The freedom of the will conſiſts in this, that a wicked man is juſtly puniſhed, becauſe his wickedneſs is from himſelf; and a good man is rewarded, becauſe he has not voluntarily tranſgreſſed the will of God.' To this may be added Chalcidius's Diſputation concerning this matter in Timaeus.

ceſſity of the heavens, and becauſe God has given ſuch a power to the heavens and the heavenly bodies, it will follow, that God, who is perfectly good, is the true cauſe of moral evil (*a*); and at the ſame time that he profeſſes his utter abhorrence of wickedneſs in his poſitive law, he has planted the efficient and inevitable cauſe of it in the nature of things; therefore he wills two things contrary to each other, *viz.* that the ſame thing ſhould be, and not be; and that that ſhould be a ſin which is done by a divine impulſe. It is ſaid by others (*b*), with a greater ſhew of probability, that firſt the air, and afterwards our bodies, are affected by the influence of the ſtars, and ſo imbibe certain qualities, which, for the moſt part, excite in the ſoul deſires anſwerable to them; that by theſe the will is enticed, and oftentimes yields to them. But if this be granted, it makes nothing to the queſtion in hand. For the religion of Chriſt could not poſſibly have its riſe from the affections of the body, nor conſequently from the power of the ſtars; which,

(*a*) *Is the true cauſe of moral evil*, etc.] Plato ſpeaks againſt this, in his ſecond Republic, 'The cauſe is from him that chuſes, God is not the cauſe.' Thus Chalcidius tranſlates it in Timaeus, which Juſtin, in the forementioned place, ſays, agrees with Moſes.

(*b*) *It is ſaid by others with a greater ſhew of probability*, etc.] But they ſpeak moſt truly, who deny any ſuch influences at all; and acknowlege nothing elſe in the ſtars but heat and light; to which we may add, their weight reſulting from their bigneſs; but theſe have, properly ſpeaking, no relation to the mind. Le Clerc.

as was ſaid, act upon the mind no otherwiſe than by ſuch affections; becauſe this religion, in the higheſt degree, draws men off from thoſe things that delight the body. The wiſeſt aſtrologers do except truly knowing and good men (*a*) from the law of the ſtars; and ſuch were they, who firſt propoſed the Chriſtian religion, as their lives plainly ſhow. And if we allow a power in learning and knowlege, to hinder their bodies from being thus infected, there always were amongſt Chriſtians ſome who might be commended upon this account. Further, the effects of the ſtars, as the moſt learned confeſs, reſpect only particular parts of the world, and are temporary: but this religion has continued already for above ſixteen hundred years, not only in one, but in very diſtant parts of the world, and ſuch as are under very different poſitions of the ſtars.

SECT. XII. *The principal Things in the Chriſtian Religion were approved of by the wiſeſt Heathens: and if there be any Thing in it hard to be believed, the like is to be found amongſt the Heathens.*

THERE is the leſs reaſon for the heathens to oppoſe the Chriſtian religion, becauſe all the parts of it are ſo agreeable to the rules of virtue, that, by their own light, they do in a manner convince the mind; inſomuch that there have not been

(*a*) *Except truly knowing and good men*, etc.] Thus Zoroaſter. 'Do not increaſe your fate.' And Ptolomaeus: 'A wiſe man may avoid many influences of the ſtars.'

wanting ſome amongſt the heathen, who have ſaid thoſe things ſingly, which, in our religion, are all put together. For inſtance, that religion does not conſiſt in ceremonies (*a*), but is in the mind;

(*a*) *That religion does not conſiſt in ceremonies*, etc.] Menander;

With a clean mind do ſacrifice to God,
Not ſo much neat in cloths, as pure in heart.

Cicero in his ſecond book of the Nature of the Gods. 'The beſt worſhip of the gods, which is alſo the moſt innocent, the moſt holy, and the moſt full of piety, is to reverence them always with a pure, ſincere, uncorrupted mind and expreſſion.' And again in his ſecond book of laws. 'The law commands us to approach the gods ſincerely; that is, with our minds, which is all in all.' Perſius, Sat. ii.

This let us offer to the gods (which blear'd
Meſſala's offspring can't, with all their coſt,)
Juſtice and right in all our ſecret thoughts,
An undiſſembled virtue from the breaſt.
Bring theſe, and what you pleaſe then ſacrifice.

Theſe verſes ſeem to have reſpect to the Pythian oracle, which we find in Porphyry's ſecond book againſt eating Living Creatures; where any thing offered by a pious man is preferred to hecatombs of another. In the ſame book Porphyry has theſe words to the like purpoſe. 'Now they eſteem him not fit to offer ſacrifice worthily, whoſe body is not clothed with a white and clean garment; but they do not think it any great matter, if ſome go to ſacrifice, having their bodies clean, and alſo their garments, though their minds be not void of evil: as if God were not moſt delighted with the purity of that which in us is moſt divine, and bears the neareſt reſemblance to him. For it is written in the temple of Epidaurus,

Let all who come to offer at this ſhrine
Be pure; ſo we command.

that he who has it in his heart (*a*) to commit a-

Now, purity conſiſts in holy thoughts.' And a little after. 'No material things ought to be offered or dedicated to God, who, as the wiſe man ſaid, is above all; for every thing material is impure to him who is immaterial; wherefore words are not proper to expreſs ourſelves by to him, not even internal ones, if polluted by the paſſions of the mind:' and again: 'For it is not reaſonable, that in thoſe temples which are dedicated to the gods by men, they ſhould wear clean ſhoes without any ſpots; and in the temple of the father, that is, in this world, not keep their inner cloths (which is the body) neat, and converſe with purity in the temple of their father.' Neither can I omit what follows out of the ſame book. 'Whoever is perſuaded, that the gods have no need of theſe [ſacrifices] but look only to the manners of thoſe who approach them, eſteeming right notions of them, and of things, the beſt ſacrifices; how can ſuch an one be otherwiſe than ſober, godly, and righteous?' Where we find theſe three known words of Paul, Tit. ii. 2. *Soberly, righteouſly, and godly.* Charondas, in his Preface to the Laws: 'Let your mind be void of all evil; for the gods delight not in the ſacrifices and expences of wicked men, but in the juſt and virtuous actions of good men. Seneca, quoted by Lactantius, in his Inſtitutions, book xi. chap. 24. 'Would you conceive God to be great, propitious, and to be reverenced, as meek in majeſty, as a friend, and always at hand? You muſt not worſhip him with ſacrifices, and abundance of blood, but with a pure mind, and an upright intention.' To the ſame ſenſe is that of Dion Pruſaeenſis, Orat. 3. Thucydides, book i. 'There is no other feſtival, but a man's doing his duty.' Diogenes: 'Does not a good man think every day a feſtival?'

(*a*) *That he who has it in his heart*, etc.] Thus Ovid,

He who forbears, only becauſe forbid,
Does ſin; his body's free, his mind is ſtain'd;
Were he alone, he'd be an adulterer.

dultery, is an adulterer; that we ought not to return an injury (*a*); that a husband ought to have but one wife (*b*); that the bands of matrimony ought not to be dissolved (*c*); that it is e-

Seneca the father: 'There is such a thing as incest, without the act of whoredom, viz. the desire of it.' And in another place, 'She is reckoned amongst sinners, and not without reason, who is modest out of fear, and not for virtue's sake.'

(*a*) *That we ought not return an injury*, etc.] See Plato's Criton, and Maximus Tyrius's second Dissertation. Menander:

O Gorgias, he's the very best of men,
Who can forgive the greatest injuries.

Ariston Spartianus: 'To a certain person, who said, that it was a princely thing to do good to friends, and evil to enemies; rather, answered he, to do good to friends, and to make enemies friends.' And the same Dion, the deliverer of Sicily, in Plutarch, says, that a true demonstration of a philosophical disposition, consists not in any one's being kind to his friends; but when he is injured, in being easily intreated, and merciful towards those who have offended him.

(*b*) *That a husband ought to have but one wife*, etc.] See what is before quoted out of Sallust and others, about this matter. Euripides in his Andromache:

——————— It is by no means fit
One man should o'er two women have the rule;
One nuptial bed will a wise man suffice,
Who would have all things regulated well.

And more to the same purpose, in the chorus of the same tragedy.

(*c*) *That the bands of matrimony ought not to be dissolved*, etc. So it was amongst the Romans till the five hundred and twentieth year of the city, as Valerius Maximus informs us, book iii. chap. 1. Anaxandrides to the same purpose:

'Tis shameful thus for men to ebb and flow.

very man's duty to do good to another (*a*), eſpecially to him that is in want (*b*); that, as much as poſſible, men ought to abſtain from ſwearing (*c*); that in meat and cloths (*d*) they ought

(*a*) *That it is every man's duty to do good to another*, etc.] Terence's Self-Tormentor:

I am a man, and think every thing humane belongs to me.

'We are by nature related to each other,' ſays Florentinus the lawyer, L. ut vim. D. de Juſtitia. And this is the meaning of the proverb, *One man is a kind of God to another*. Cicero, in his firſt book of Offices, ſays there is a mutual ſociety betwixt men, all of them being related to one another.

(*b*) *Eſpecially to him that is in want*, etc.] Horace, book ii.

Wretch, why ſhould any want, when you are rich?

In Mimus:

Mercy procures ſtrong ſecurity.

(*c*) *That, as much as poſſible, men ought to abſtain from ſwearing*, etc.] Pythagoras: 'We ought not to ſwear by the gods, but endeavour to make ourſelves believed without an oath:' which is largely explained by Hierocles, on his Golden Verſes. Marcus Antoninus, book iii. in his Deſcription of a good Man, ſays, 'Such an one needs no oath.' Sophocles in his Oedipus Coloneus:

I would not have you ſwear, becauſe 'tis bad.

Clinius the Pythagorean would ſooner loſe three talents in a cauſe, than affirm the truth with an oath. The ſtory is related by Baſilius concerning reading Greek authors.

(*d*) *That in meat and cloths*, etc.] Euripides:

There are but two things which mankind do want,
A cruſt of bread, and draught of ſpringing water,
Both which are near, and will ſuffice for life.

And Lucan:

There is enough of bread and drink for all.

And Ariſtides:

We want no thing but cloths, houſes, and food.

to be content with what is neceſſary to ſupply nature. And if there be any thing in the Chriſtian religion difficult to be believed, the like is to be found amongſt the wiſeſt of the heathens, as we have before made appear, with reſpect to the immortality of the ſoul, and bodies being reſtored to life again. Thus Plato, taught by the Chaldaeans, diſtinguiſhed the divine nature (*a*) into the father; the father's mind, which he alſo calls a branch of the Deity, the maker of the world;

(*a*) *Diſtinguiſhed the divine nature*, etc.] See Plato's epiſtle to Dionyſius. Plato calls the firſt principle the Father; the ſecond principle, the Cauſe or Governor of all things, in his epiſtle to Hermias, Eraſtus, and Coriſcus. The ſame is called the Mind by Plotinus, in his book, *Of the three principal Subſtances*. Numenius calls it the Workman, and alſo the Son; and Amelius the Word, as you may ſee in Euſebius, book xi. chap. 17, 18, 19. See alſo Cyril's third, fourth, and eighth books againſt Julian. Chalcidius on Timaeus, calls the firſt, the Supreme God; the ſecond, the Mind, or Providence; the third, the Soul of the World, or the ſecond Mind. In another place, he diſtinguiſhes theſe three thus: the Contriver, the Commander, and the Effecter. He ſpeaks thus of the ſecond: 'The reaſon of God, is God conſulting the affairs of men; which is the cauſe of men's living well and happily, if they do not neglect that gift, which the ſupreme God has beſtowed on them. The Pythagoreans aſſign, to the ſupreme God, the number Three, as perfect,' ſays Servius, on the ſeventh Eclogue. Not much differing from which, is that of Ariſtotle, concerning the ſame Pythagoreans, in the beginning of his firſt book of the heavens. [This is more largely handled, by the very learned Dr. Cudworth, in his Engliſh work of the Intellectual Syſtem of the world, book i. chap. 4. which you will not repent conſulting. Le Clerc.]

and the ſoul, which comprehends and contains all things. That the divine nature could be joined with the human, Julian (*a*), that great enemy to the Chriſtians, believed; and gave an example in Æſculapius, who, he thought, came from heaven to deliver to men the art of phyſic. Many are offended at the croſs of Chriſt; but what ſtories are there, which the heathen authors do not tell of their gods? Some were ſervants to kings, others were ſtruck with thunder-bolts, ripped up, wounded. And the wiſeſt of them affirmed, that the more virtue coſt, the more delightful it was. Plato (*b*), in his ſecond republic, ſays, in a man-

(*a*) *Julian, that great enemy to the Chriſtians,* etc.] Book vi. 'Amongſt thoſe things which have underſtanding, Jupiter produced Æſculapius from himſelf, and cauſed him to appear upon earth, by means of the fruitful life of the ſun; he, taking his journey from heaven to earth, appeared in one form in Epidaurus.' Thus Porphyry, as Cyril relates his words in his forementioned eighth book: 'There is a certain kind of gods, which, in a proper ſeaſon, are tranſformed into men.' What the Egyptians opinion of this matter was, ſee Plutarch, Sympoſia. viii. Queſt. 1. to which may be added that place of Acts xiv. 10.

(*b*) *Plato in his ſecond Republic,* etc.] The words are theſe, tranſlated from the Greek: 'He will be ſcourged, tormented, bound, his eyes burnt out, and die by crucifixion, after he has endured all thoſe evils.' Whence he had that, which he relates in his third book of Republic. 'That good man will be tormented, furiouſly treated, have his hands cut off, his eyes plucked out, will be bound, condemned, and burnt.' Lactantius, in his Inſtitutions, book vi. chap. 17. has preſerved this place of Seneca: 'This is that virtuous man, who, though his body ſuffer torments in every part, tho' the flame enter into his mouth, though his hands be extended

ner prophetically, that for a man to appear truly good, it is neceſſary that his virtue be deprived of all its ornaments, ſo that he may be looked upon by others as a wicked man, may be derided, and at laſt hanged: and certainly to be an example of eminent patience is no otherwiſe to be obtained.

on a croſs, does not regard *what* he ſuffers, but *how well*.' Such an one Euripides repreſents to us in theſe verſes:

Burn, ſcald this tender fleſh: drink your full glutt
Of purple blood. Sooner may heaven and earth
Approach each other, and be join'd in one,
Than I to you expreſs a flattering word.

To which that of Æſchylus, mentioned by Plato, in the forecited place, exactly agrees:

He ſtrives to be, not to be thought, the beſt,
Deep rooted in his mind he bears a ſtock,
Whence all his wiſer counſels are derived.

BOOK V.

SECT. I. *A Confutation of Judaiſm, beginning with an Addreſs to the Jews.*

NOW we are coming out of the thick darkneſs of heatheniſm; the Jewiſh religion, which is a part of the beginning of truth, appears to us, much like twilight to a perſon gradually advancing out of a very dark cave: wherefore I deſire the Jews, that they would not look upon us as adverſaries. We know very well, that they are the offſpring of holy men (*a*), whom God often viſited by his prophets and his angels; that the Meſſiah was born of their nation, as were the firſt teachers of Chriſtianity: they were the ſtock into which we were grafted; to them were committed the oracles of God, which we reſpect as much as they; and with Paul put up our hearty prayers to God for them, beſeeching him that that day may very ſpeedily come, when the veil (*b*) which now hangs over their faces, being taken off, they, together with us, may clearly perceive the fulfilling of the law (*c*); and when, according to the antient

(*a*) *That they are the offſpring of holy men*, etc.] This, and what follows, is taken out of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of the Romans; to which may be added Matth. xv. 2.

(*b*) *When the veil*, etc.] 2 Cor. iii. 14, 15, 16.

(*c*) *The fulfilling of the law*,

prophecies, many of us, who are ſtrangers, ſhall lay hold of the ſkirt of a Jew (*a*), praying him, that with equal piety, we may worſhip that one God, the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob.

SECT. II. *That the Jews ought to look upon the Miracles of Chriſt as ſufficiently atteſted.*

FIRST, therefore, they are requeſted not to eſteem that unjuſt, in another's cauſe, which they think juſt in their own: if any heathen ſhould aſk them, why they believed the miracles done by Moſes; they can give no other anſwer, but that the tradition, concerning this matter, has been ſo continual and conſtant amongſt them, that it could not proceed from any thing elſe but the teſtimony of thoſe who ſaw them. Thus, that the widow's oil was increaſed by Eliſha (*b*), and the Syrian (*c*) immediately healed of his leproſy; and the ſon of her (*d*), who entertained him, raiſed to life again, with many others, are believed by the Jews, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they were delivered to poſterity by credible witneſſes. And concerning Elijah's being

etc.] Rom. iii. 24. viii. 14. x. 4. xiii. 8. Gal. iii. 24.

(*a*) *The ſkirt of a Jew*, etc.] Zech. viii. 20. and following; Iſa. ii. 2. xix. 18, 24. Micah iv. 2. Hoſea iii. 4. Rom. xi. 25.

(*b*) *That the widow's oil was increaſed*, etc.] 2 Kings chap. iv.

(*c*) *And the Syrian immediately healed*, etc.] Chap. v.

(*d*) *And the ſon of her who entertained him*, etc.] In the forementioned fourth chapter.

taken up into heaven (*a*), they give credit to the ſingle teſtimony of Eliſha, as a man beyond all exception. But we bring twelve witneſſes (*b*), whoſe lives were unblameable, of Chriſt's aſcending into heaven (*c*); and many more, of Chriſt's being ſeen upon earth after his death; which, if they be true, the Chriſtian doctrine muſt of neceſſity be true alſo; and it is plain, that the Jews can ſay nothing for themſelves, but what will hold as ſtrong or ſtronger for us. But to paſs by teſtimonies, the writers of the Talmud (*d*), and the Jews themſelves, own the miraculous things done by Chriſt, which ought to ſatisfy them: for God cannot more effectually recommend the authority of any doctrine delivered by man, than by working miracles.

SECT. III. *An Anſwer to the Objection, that thoſe Miracles were done by the Help of Devils.*

BUT ſome ſay, that theſe wonders were done by the help of devils: but this calumny has been already confuted from hence; that as ſoon as the doctrine of Chriſt was made known, all the power of the devils was broken. What is added by ſome, that Jeſus learned magical arts in Egypt, carries a much leſs appearance of truth,

(*a*) *Elijah's being taken up into heaven*, etc.] Chap. ii. of the forecited book.

(*b*) *We bring twelve witneſſes*, etc.] Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 52. Acts i.

(*c*) *Of Chriſt's aſcending into heaven*, etc.] Mat. xxviii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx. xxi. 1 Cor. xv.

(*d*) *The writers of the Talmud*, etc.] See what is quoted, book ii.

than the like objection of the heathen againſt Moſes, which we find in Pliny (*a*) and Apuleius (*b*). For it does not appear, but from the books of his diſciples, that Jeſus ever was in Egypt; and they add, that he returned from thence a child. But it is certain that Moſes ſpent a great part of his time, when he was grown up, in Egypt, both from his own account (*c*), and the relation of others (*d*). But the law of each of them ſtrongly clears both Moſes and Jeſus from this crime, becauſe they expreſly forbid ſuch arts (*e*), as odious in the ſight of God. And if in the times of Chriſt and his diſciples, there had been any ſuch magical art any where, either in Egypt, or other places, whereby thoſe things, related of Chriſt, could be done; ſuch as dumb men's being ſuddenly healed, the lame walking, and ſight given to the blind; the emperors Tiberius (*f*), Nero (*g*), and others, who would not

(*a*) *In Pliny*, etc.] Book xxx. chap. 1.

(*b*) *And Apuleius*, etc.] In his ſecond Apology.

(*c*) *From his own*, etc.] Exod. ii. 4. and following.

(*d*) *And the relation of others*, etc.] Manethon, Chaeremon, Lyſimachus in Joſephus's firſt book againſt Appion, and Juſtin, and Tacitus.

(*e*) *Becauſe they expreſly forbid ſuch acts*, etc.] Exod. xxii. 28. Levit. xx. 6, 27. Numb. xxiii. 23. Deuter. xviii. 10. 1 Sam. xxviii. 9. 2 Kings xvii. 17. xxi. 6. Acts xiii. 8, 9, 10. xvi. 18. xix. 19.

(*f*) *Tiberius*, etc.] Tacitus, Annal vi. Suetonius in his life, chap. lxiii and lxix.

(*g*) *Nero*, etc.] Concerning whom, Pliny, book xxx. chap. xi. in his Hiſtory of Magic, ſays, 'He had not a greater deſire after muſic and tragical ſinging.' And afterwards: 'No man favoured any art with greater coſt;

have ſpared any coſt, in enquiring after ſuch things, would undoubtedly have found it out. And if it be true, what the Jews report (*a*), that the counſellors of the great council were ſkilled in magical arts, in order to convict the guilty; certainly they who were ſo great enemies to Jeſus, and ſo much envied his reputation, which continually increaſed by his miracles, would have done the like works by ſome art; or have made it plain by undeniable arguments, that his works could proceed from nothing elſe.

SECT. IV. *Or by the Power of Words.*

SOME of the Jews aſcribe the miracles of Jeſus to a certain ſecret name, which was put into the temple by Solomon, and kept by two lions for above a thouſand years, but was conveyed thence by Jeſus; which is not only falſe, but an impudent fiction. For, as to the lions, which is ſo remarkable and wonderful a thing; neither the books of the Kings, nor the Chronicles, nor Joſephus, mention any thing of them: nor did the Romans, who before the times of Jeſus entered the temple with Pompey, find any ſuch thing.

for theſe things he wanted neither riches, abilities, nor diſpoſition to learn.' Preſently after, he relates how he was initiated into the magical ſuppers by king Tiridates.

(*a*) *What the Jews report*, etc.] See the Talmud, entitled, concerning the Council; and that concerning the Sabbath.

SECT. V. *That the Miracles of Jeſus were divine, proved from hence, becauſe he taught the Worſhip of one God, the Maker of the World.*

Now, if it be granted, that miracles were done by Chriſt, which the Jews acknowlege, we affirm, that it follows from the law of Moſes itſelf, that we ought to give credit to him: for God has ſaid, in the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, that he would raiſe up other prophets beſides Moſes, which the people were to hearken to; and threatens heavy puniſhments if they did not. Now, the moſt certain token (*a*) of a prophet is miracles; nor can any thing be conceived more flagrant. Yet it is ſaid, Deut. xiii. that if any one declares himſelf to be a prophet, by working wonders, he is not to be hearkened to, if he intices the people to the worſhip of new gods: for God permits ſuch wonders to be done, only to try whether the people be firmly eſtabliſhed in the worſhip of the true God. From which places compared together, the Hebrew interpreters (*b*) rightly collected, that every one who worked miracles (*c*) was to be believed, if he

(*a*) *Now, the moſt certain token*, etc.] And the foretelling future events, which may juſtly be reckoned amongſt miracles, Deuter. xviii. 22.

(*b*) *The Hebrew interpreters*, etc.] See Moſes Maimonides, and others quoted in Manaſſes's Conciliator, Queſt. iv. on Deuteronomy.

(*c*) *That every one who worked miracles*, etc.] And whoſe prophecies came to paſs; this argument is ſtrongly urged in Chryſoſtom's fifth Diſcourſe againſt the Jews; and in his Diſcourſe

did not draw them off from the worſhip of the true God; for, in that inſtance only it is declared, that no credit is to be given to miracles, though never ſo remarkable ones. Now, Jeſus did not only not teach the worſhip of falſe gods, but, on the contrary, did expreſly forbid it (*a*), as a grievous ſin; and taught us to reverence the writings of Moſes, and thoſe prophets which followed him: ſo that nothing can be objected againſt his miracles; for what ſome object, that the law of Jeſus in ſome things differs from that of Moſes, is not ſufficient.

SECT. VI. *An Anſwer to the Objection, drawn from the Difference betwixt the Law of Moſes and the Law of Chriſt; where it is ſhown, that there might be given a more perfect Law than that of Moſes.*

FOR the Hebrew doctors themſelves lad down this rule for the extent of a prophet's power (*b*), that is, of one that works miracles; that he may ſecurely violate any ſort of precept, except that of the worſhip of one God. And indeed the

concerning Chriſt's Divinity, vi. Tom. Savil.

(*a*) *Did expreſly forbid it*, etc.] Mat. xii. 29, 32. John xvii. 3. Acts xv. 28. 1 Cor. v. 10, 11, 18. vi. 9. x. 7. xii. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 16. 1 Theſ. i. 9, 1 John v. 21.

(*b*) *For the extent of a prophet's power*, etc.] This rule is laid down in the Talmud, entitled, concerning the Council. Thus at the command of Joſhua, the law of the Sabbath was broken, Joſ. v. And the prophets often ſacrifieed, out of the place appointed by the law, as Samuel, 1 Sam. vii. 17. xiii. 8. and Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 38.

power of making laws, which is in God, did not ceaſe upon his giving precepts by Moſes; nor is any one, who has any authority to give laws, thereby hindered from giving others contrary to them. The objection of God's immutability is nothing to the purpoſe, for we do not ſpeak of the nature and eſſence of God, but of his actions. Light is turned into darkneſs, youth into age, ſummer into winter, which are all the acts of God. Formerly God allowed to Adam all other fruit, except that of one tree (*a*), which he forbad him, *viz.* becauſe it was his pleaſure. He forbad killing men in general, yet he commanded Abraham to ſlay his ſon (*b*); he forbad ſome (*c*), and accepted other ſacrifices, diſtant from the tabernacle. Neither will it follow, that becauſe the law given by Moſes was good, therefore a better could not be given. Parents are wont to liſp with their children, to wink at the faults of their age, to tempt them to learn with a cake: but as they grow up, their ſpeech is corrected, the precepts of virtue inſtilled into them, and they are ſhown the beauty of virtue, and what are its rewards. Now, that the precepts of the law (*d*) were not abſolutely perfect, appears from hence, that ſome holy men, in thoſe times, led a life more perfect than thoſe precepts required.

(*a*) *Except that of one tree*, etc.] Gen ii. 17.

(*b*) *Yet he commanded Abraham*, etc.] Gen. xxii. 2.

(*c*) *He forbad ſome and accepted other*, etc.] As we ſaid juſt before.

(*d*) *Now, that the precepts of the law*, etc.] Heb. viii. 7.

Moſes, who allowed revenging an injury, partly by force, and partly by demanding judgment, when himſelf was afflicted with the worſt of injuries, prayed for his enemies (*a*). Thus David was willing (*b*) to have his rebellious ſon ſpared, and patiently bore the curſes (*c*) thrown upon him. Good men are no where found to have divorced their wives, though the law allowed them to do it. So that laws are only accommodated (*d*) to the greater part of the people; and in that ſtate, it was reaſonable ſome things ſhould be overlooked, which were then to be reduced to a more perfect rule, when God, by a greater power of his ſpirit, was to gather to himſelf a new people out of all nations. And the rewards, which were expreſly promiſed by the law of Moſes, do all regard this mortal life only: whence

(*a*) *Prayed for his enemies*, etc.] Exod. xxxii. 2, 12, 14, 31. Numb. xi. 2. xii. 13. xiv. 13. and following verſes; xxi. 7, 8. Deut. ix. 18. 26. xxxiii.

(*b*) *Thus David was willing*, etc.] 2 Sam. xviii. 5.

(*c*) *And patiently bore the curſes*, etc.] 2 Sam. xxi. 10.

(*d*) *So that laws are only accommodated*, etc.] Origen againſt Celſus, book iii. 'As a certian lawgiver ſaid to one who aſked him, if he gave to his citizens the moſt perfect laws; not, ſays he, the moſt perfect in themſelves, but the beſt they can bear.' Porphyry, book I. againſt eating Living Creatures, concerning Lawgivers, ſays thus: 'If they have regard to the middle ſort of life, called natural, and according to what is agreeable to moſt men, who meaſure good and evil by external things, which concern the body: if, I ſay, with this view they make laws, what injury is done to life, if any one adds ſomething more excellent than this?'

it muſt be be confeſſed, that a law (*a*), better than this, might be given; which ſhould propoſe everlaſting rewards, not under types and ſhadows, but plainly and openly, as we ſee the law of Chriſt does.

SECT. VII. *The Law of Moſes was obſerved by Jeſus when on earth, neither was any Part of it aboliſhed afterwards, but only thoſe precepts which had no intrinſic Goodneſs in them.*

WE may here obſerve, by the way, to ſhew the wickedneſs of thoſe Jews, who lived in our Saviour's time, that Jeſus was very baſely treated by them, and delivered up to puniſhment, when they could not prove that he had done any thing contrary to the law. He was circumciſed (*b*), made uſe of the Jewiſh meats (*c*), was clothed like them (*d*); thoſe who were cleanſed from their leproſy (*e*), he ſent to the prieſts; he religiouſly obſerved the paſſover (*f*), and other feſtival days. If he healed any on the Sabbath-day, he made it appear, not only from the law (*g*), but from their received opinions (*h*),

(*a*) *That a law better than this*, etc.] Heb. vii. 19. 22. viii. 6. 2 Tim. i. 10.

(*b*) *He was circumciſed*, etc.] Luke ii. 21.

(*c*) *Made uſe of the Jewiſh meats*, etc.] Gal. iv. 5.

(*d*) *Was clothed like them*, etc.] Matth. ix. 20.

(*e*) *Thoſe who were cleanſed*, etc.] Mat. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14.

(*f*) *He religiouſly obſerved the paſſover*, etc.] Luke ii. 41. John ii. 13, 23. xi. 56. xii. 1. vii. 2.

(*g*) *Not only from the law*, etc.] Matth. xii. 5.

(*h*) *But from their received opinions*, etc.] Mat. xii. 11.

that ſuch works were not forbidden on the Sabbath. He then firſt began to diſcover the abrogating ſome laws (*a*), when he had overcome death, was aſcended into heaven, had endued his diſciples with remarkable gifts of the holy Spirit, and had ſhown, by thoſe things, that he had obtained a kingly power (*b*), in which is included an authority to make laws (*c*), according to that prophecy of Daniel, chapter third and eighth, the eighth and eleventh being compared together; who foretold, that after the overthrow of the kingdoms of Aſſyria and Egypt, (the latter of which came to paſs under Auguſtus) God would give to a man, who ſhould appear to be an ordinary perſon (*d*), a kingdom; extending to the people of all nations and languages, and which ſhould never have an end. Now, that part of the law, the neceſſity of which was taken away by Chriſt, did not contain in it any thing in its own nature virtuous; but conſiſted of things indifferent in themſelves, and therefore not unalterable: for if there had been any thing in the nature of thoſe things, to inforce their practice, God would have preſcribed them to all the

(*a*) *To diſcover the abrogating*, etc.] Acts x. Col. ii. 14.

(*b*) *That he had obtained a kingly power*, etc.] Acts ii. 36. Rev. i. 5.

(*c*) *In which is included*,] etc.] James ii. 25.

(*d*) *Who ſhall appear to be an ordinary perſon*, etc.] Dan. ii. 45. vii. 13. For the *ſon of man* expreſſes, in Hebrew, a certain *meanneſs*; and ſo the prophets are called, compared with angels, as is obſerved by Jachiades, on Dan. x. 16.

world (*a*), and not to one people only; and that from the very beginning, and not two thouſand years and more after mankind had been created. Abel, Enoch, Noah, Melchiſedech, Job, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, and all the eminently pious men, who were ſo beloved of God, were ignorant of all, or almoſt all this part of the law; and yet, nevertheleſs, they received teſtimony of their faith towards God, and of his divine love towards them. Neither did Moſes adviſe his father-in law, Jethro, to perform theſe rites, nor Jonas the Ninevites, nor did the other prophets reprove the Chaldaeans, Egyptians, Sidonians, Tyrians, Idumaeans, and Moabites, to whom they wrote, for not embracing them, though they particularly enumerate their crimes. Theſe precepts therefore were particular, and introduced either to hinder ſome evil, to which the Jews were eſpecially inclined (*b*), or for a

(*a*) *To all the world, and not to one people only*, etc.] So far from that, that ſome laws, ſuch as thoſe of firſt fruits, tythes, aſſembling upon feſtivals, relate expreſly to the place of Judea only, whither it is certain all nations could not come. See Exod. xxxiii. 19. and xxxiv. 26. Deut. xxvi. 2. and what follows. Alſo Deut. xii. 5. and the following; xiv. 23. and the following. Alſo Exod. xxiii. 17. xxxiv. 2, 23, 24. Deut. xvi. 16. The moſt ancient cuſtom interpreted the law of ſacrifices, in the ſame manner. The Talmud, entitled, concerning the Councils, and that intitled Chagiga, tells us, that the law of Moſes was given to the Hebrews only, and not to ſtrangers. See Maimonides on Deut. xxxiii. and Bechai.

(*b*) *To which the Jews were eſpecially inclined*, etc.] Being very much addicted to rites, and, on that account, prone

trial of their obedience, or to ſignify ſome future things. Wherefore there is no more reaſon to wonder at their being aboliſhed, than at a king's abrogating ſome municipal laws, in order to eſtabliſh the ſame ordinances all over a nation: neither can there be any thing alleged to prove, that God had obliged himſelf to make no alteration herein. For, if it be ſaid, that theſe precepts are ſtiled *perpetual*; men very often make uſe of this word (*a*), when they would ſignify only, that what they command in this manner, is not limited for a year's continuance, or to a certain time (*b*); ſuppoſe of war or peace, accommodated to the ſcarceneſs of proviſion; now this does not hinder but that they may appoint new laws concerning theſe matters, whenever the public good requires it. Thus the precepts which God gave to the Hebrews, were ſome of them temporary, only during the continuance of that people in the wilderneſs (*c*); others confined to their dwelling in the land of Canaan (*d*).

to idolatry. This the prophets every where ſhow, eſpecially Ezekiel xvi.

(*a*) *Men very often make uſe of this word*, etc.] L. hac edictali. Cod. de ſecundis Nuptiis. L. hac in perpetuum. Cod. de diverſis Praedis. libro xi. and in many other places.

(*b*) *Or to a certain time*, etc.] L. Valerius in Livy xxxiv. 'The laws, which particular times require, are liable to be aboliſhed, and, I find, are changed with the times; thoſe that are made in the time of peace, are abrogated in war; and thoſe made in war, abrogated in peace.'

(*c*) *Only during the continuance*, etc.] As Exodus xxvii. Deut. xxiii. 12.

(*d*) *Others confined to their dwelling*, etc.] Deut. xii. 1, 20. Numb. xxxiii. 52.

That theſe might be diſtinguiſhed from the other, they are called *perpetual*; by which may be meant, that they ought not to be neglected any where, nor at any time, unleſs God ſhould ſignify his will to the contrary. Which manner of ſpeaking, as it is common to all people, the Hebrews ought the leſs to wonder at, becauſe they know that in their law, that is called a perpetual right (*a*), and a perpetual ſervitude, which continued only from jubilee to jubilee. And the coming of the Meſſiah (*b*) is by themſelves called the fulfilling of the jubilee, or the great jubilee. And, moreover, the promiſe of entering into a new covenant is to be found amongſt the old prophets, as Jeremiah thirty-firſt (*c*); where God promiſes that he will make a new covenant, which ſhall be writ upon their hearts, and men will have no need to learn religion of each other, for it ſhall be evident to them all: and, moreover, that he would pardon

(*a*) *A perpetual right*, etc.] Exodus xxi. 6. 1 Sam. i. 22. And thus Joſephus Albo, in his third book of Foundations, chap. 19, thinks the word לעולם *Le-olam*, in the ritual law, may be underſtood. And Phinees's prieſthood is called, Pſal. cvi. 30, 31. עד עולם *Ad-olam*, *everlaſting*. And by the ſon of Sirach, xlv. 28, 29, 30. an everlaſting prieſthood, and 1 Maccab. ii. 55.

(*b*) *And the coming of the Meſſiah*, etc.] In Pereck Cheleck, and elſewhere. And in Iſaiah lxi. 2. (Pereck Cheleck is the eleventh chapter of the Talmud concerning Councils; but what Grotius mentions is not to be found there, at leaſt in the Miſchna text; theſe citations ought to have been more exact.)

(*c*) *As Jeremiah thirty firſt*, etc.] Verſe 31. and following.

all their paſt tranſgreſſions: which is much the ſame, as if a prince, after his ſubjects had been at great enmity with each other, in order to eſtabliſh a peace, ſhould take away their different laws, and impoſe upon them all, one common law, and that a perfect one; and for the future, promiſe them pardon for all their paſt tranſgreſſions, upon their amendment. Though what has been ſaid might ſuffice; yet we will go through every part of the law that is aboliſhed, and ſhew that the things are not ſuch, as are in their own nature well-pleaſing to God, or ſuch as ought to continue always.

SECT. VIII. *As Sacrifices, which were never acceptable to God upon their own Account.*

THE principal, and which firſt offer themſelves to us, are ſacrifices; concerning which many Hebrews are of opinion, that they firſt proceeded from the invention of men (*a*), before they were commanded by God. Thus much certain-

(*a*) *That they firſt proceeded from the invention of men*, etc.] Chryſoſtom xii. concerning Statues, ſpeaking of Abel, ſays, 'that he offered ſacrifices, which he did not learn from any other perſon, nor did he ever receive any law, that eſtabliſhed any thing about firſt fruits; but he had it from himſelf, and was moved to it by his own conſcience only.' In the anſwer to the Orthodox, in the words of Juſtin, to the eighty-third Query: 'None of thoſe who ſacrificed beaſts to God before the law, ſacrificed them at the divine command; though it is evident that God accepted them, and by ſuch acceptance diſcovered that the ſacrifices were well-pleaſing to him.' (This matter is largely handled by Dr. Spencer, concerning the ritual law of the Jews, book iii.

ly is evident, that the Hebrews were desirous of very many rites; which was a sufficient reason (*a*) why God should enjoin them such a number, upon this account, lest the memory of their dwelling in Egypt should cause them to return to the worship of false gods. But when their posterity set a greater value upon them than they ought; as if they were acceptable to God upon their own account, and a part of true piety; they are reproved by the prophets: '*As to sacrifices*(*b*), says God in David's fiftieth Psalm, according to the Hebrew, *I will not speak to you at all concerning them*, viz. *that you shall slay burnt-offerings upon burnt-offerings, or that I will accept young bullocks, or goats out of thy fold: for all the living creatures, which feed in the*

Dis. 2. to which I refer you. Le Clerc.)

(*a*) *Which was a sufficient reason*, etc.] This very reason, for the law of sacrifices, is alleged by Maimonides in his Guide to the Doubting, book iii. chap. 32. Tertullian against Marcion, book ii. 'Would you have no body find fault with the labour and burden of sacrifices, and the busy scrupulousness of oblations, as if God truly desired such things, when he so plainly exclaims against them? To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices? And who hath required them at your hands? But let such observe the care God has taken to oblige a people, prone to idolatry and sin, to be religious; by such duties, as that superstitious age was most conversant in, that he might call them off from superstition, by commanding those things to be done upon his account, as if he desired it, lest they should fall to making images.'

(*b*) *As to sacrifices*, etc.] This is Grotius's paraphrase upon Psalm fifty, not a literal translation: and so are the following. Le Clerc.

foreſts, and wander upon the mountains, are mine; I number both the birds, and the wild beaſts; ſo that if I be hungry, I need not come to declare it to you; for the whole univerſe, and every thing in it is mine. Do you think I will eat the fat of fleſh, and drink the blood of goats? No: ſacrifice thankſgiving, and offer thy vows unto God. There are ſome amongſt the Hebrews who affirm, that this was ſaid, becauſe they who offered theſe ſacrifices were unholy in their hearts and lives. But the words themſelves, which we have quoted, tell us the contrary, *viz.* that the thing was not at all acceptable to God in itſelf. And if we conſider the whole tenor of the pſalm, we ſhall find that God addreſſes himſelf to holy men; for he had before ſaid, *Gather my ſaints together;* and afterwards, *Hear, O my people.* Theſe are the words of a teacher; then having finiſhed the words before cited, he turns his diſcourſe, as is uſual, to the wicked: *But to the wicked, ſaid God;* and in other places we find the ſame ſenſe. As Pſalm li. *To offer ſacrifices is not acceptable to thee, neither art thou delighted with burnt-offerings:* but the ſacrifice which thou truly delighteſt in, is a mind humbled *by the ſenſe of its faults; for thou, O God, wilt not deſpiſe a broken and contrite heart*: the like to which is that of Pſalm fortieth. *Sacrifices and oblations thou doſt not delight in, but thou ſecureſt me to thyſelf, as if I were bored through the ear* (a); *thou*

(*a*) *As if I were bored*, etc.] A mark of ſervitude amongſt the Hebrews.

thou doſt not require burnt-ſacrifices, or treſpaſs-offerings; therefore have I anſwered, Lo, I come; and I am as ready to do thy will, as any covenant can make me; for it is my delight. For thy law is fixed in my whole heart; the praiſes of thy mercy, I do not keep cloſe in my thoughts, but I declare thy truth and loving-kindneſs every where; but thy compaſſion and faithfulneſs do I particularly celebrate in the great congregation. In chapter firſt of Iſaiah, God is introduced ſpeaking in this manner: *What are ſo many ſacrifices to me? I am filled with the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beaſts; I do not love the blood of young bullocks, of lambs, or of goats, that you ſhould appear with it before me: for who hath required this of you, that you ſhall thus pollute my courts?* And Jeremiah ſeventh, which is a like place, and may ſerve to explain this. *Thus ſaith the Lord of angels, the God of Iſrael, ye heap up your burnt-offerings with your ſacrifices, and yourſelves eat the fleſh of them. For, at the time when I firſt brought your fathers up out of Egypt, I neither required nor commanded them any thing about ſacrifices, or burnt-offerings. But that which I earneſtly commanded them, was, that they ſhould be obedient to me; ſo would I be their God, and they ſhould be my people; and that they ſhould walk in the way that I ſhould teach them, ſo ſhould all things ſucceed proſperouſly to them.* And theſe are the words of God in Hoſea, chap. vi. *Loving-kindneſs towards men is much more acceptable to me than*

ſacrifice (a); *to think aright of God, is above all burnt-offerings.* And in Micah, when the queſtion was put, how any man ſhould render himſelf moſt acceptable to God, by a vaſt number of rams, by a huge quantity of oil, or by calves of a year old? God anſwers, *I will tell you what is truly good and acceptable to me,* viz. *that you render to every man his due* (b); *that you do good to others; and that you become humble and lowly before God.* Since, therefore, it appears from theſe places, that ſacrifices are not reckoned amongſt thoſe things which are primarily, and of themſelves acceptable to God; but the people gradually, as is uſual, falling into wicked ſuperſtition, placed the principal part of their piety in them, and believed that their ſacrifices made a ſufficient compenſation for their ſins, it is not to be wondered at, if God in time aboliſhed a thing in its own nature indifferent, but by uſe converted into evil; eſpecially when king Hezekiah broke the brazen ſerpent (c), erected by Moſes; becauſe the people began to worſhip it with religious worſhip. Nor are there wanting prophecies, which foretold that thoſe ſacrifices, about which

(a) *Is much more acceptable to me,* etc.] So the Chaldee interpreter explains this place.

(b) *That you render to every man his due,* etc.] Therefore the Jews ſay, that the two hundred and two precepts of the law are by Iſaiah contracted into ſix, chap. xxxiii. 15. by Micah, into three in this place; by Iſaiah into two, chap. lvi. 1. by Habbakkuk into one, chap. ii. 4. as alſo by Amos, v. 6.

(c) *When king Hezekiah,* etc.] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

the controverſy now is, ſhould ceaſe: which any one will eaſily underſtand, who will but conſider, that according to the law of Moſes, the ſacrificing was committed entirely to the poſterity of Aaron, and that only in their own country. Now, in Pſa. cx. according to the Hebrew, a king is promiſed, whoſe kingdom ſhould be exceeding large, who ſhould begin his reign in Sion, and who ſhould be a king and a prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchiſedech. And Iſaiah, chap. xix. ſaith, that an altar ſhould be ſeen in Egypt, where not only the Egyptians, but the Aſſyrians alſo, and Iſraelites ſhould worſhip God; and chap. lxvi. he ſaith, that the moſt diſtant nations and people of all languages, as well as the Iſraelites, ſhould offer gifts unto God, and out of them ſhould be appointed prieſts and Levites; all which could not be, whilſt the law of Moſes continued (*a*). To theſe we may add that place in Malachi (*b*), chap. i. where God, foretelling fu-

(*a*) *Whilſt the law of Moſes continued*, etc.] Add this place of Jeremiah, c. iii. 16. 'In thoſe days, ſaith the Lord, they ſhall ſay no more, the ark of the covenant of the Lord, neither ſhall it come into their minds, neither ſhall they remember it, neither ſhall they viſit it, neither ſhall that be done any more.' [Even the Jews themſelves could no longer obſerve their law, after they were ſo much ſcattered. For it is impoſſible that all the the males ſhould go up thrice in a year to Jeruſalem, according to the law, Exodus xxiii. 17. from all thoſe countries which were inhabited by them. This law could be given to no other, than a people not very great, nor much diſtant from the tabernacle. Le Clerc.]

(*b*) *Malachi, chap.* i. etc.] See Chryſoſtom's excellent

ture events, ſays, that the offerings of the Hebrews would be an abomination to him; that from the eaſt to the weſt, his name ſhould be celebrated among all nations: and that incenſe, and the pureſt things, ſhould be offered him: and Daniel, in chap. ix. relating the prophecy of the angel Gabriel, concerning Chriſt, ſays, *that he ſhall aboliſh ſacrifices and offerings:* and God has ſufficiently ſignified, not only by words, but by the things themſelves, that the ſacrifices preſcribed by Moſes are no longer approved by him: ſince he has ſuffered the Jews to be above ſixteen hundred years without a temple, or altar, or any diſtinction of families, whence they might know who thoſe are who ought to perform the ſacred rites.

SECT. IX. *And the Difference of Meats.*

WHAT has been ſaid concerning the law of ſacrifices, the ſame may be affirmed of that, in which different kinds of meat are prohibited. It is manifeſt, that after the univerſal deluge, God gave to Noah (*a*), and his poſterity, a right to

Paraphraſe upon this place, in his ſecond Diſcourſe againſt the Gentiles.

(*a*) *God gave to Noah, and his poſterity*, etc.] The mention of clean and unclean creatures ſeems to be an objection againſt this, in the hiſtory of the deluge; but either that was ſaid by way of Prolepſis to thoſe who knew the law; or by unclean, ought to be underſtood, thoſe which men naturally avoid for food, ſuch as Tacitus calls prophane, Hiſt. vi. Unleſs any one had rather underſtand by clean, thoſe which are nouriſhed by herbs; and by unclean, thoſe which feed on other living creatures.

uſe any ſort of food; which right deſcended, not only to Japhet and Ham, but alſo to Shem and his poſterity, Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. But afterwards, when the people in Egypt were tinctured with the vile ſuperſtition of that nation; then it was, that God firſt prohibited the eating ſome ſort of living creatures; either becauſe for the moſt part ſuch were offered by the Egyptians to their gods (*a*), and they made divination

(*a*) *Such were offered by the Egyptians*, etc.] Origen, in his fourth book againſt Celſus. 'Some wicked daemons, and, as I may call them, titanic or gigantic ones, who were rebellious againſt the true God, and the heavenly angels, and fell from heaven, and are continually moving about groſs and unclean bodies here on earth; having ſome foreſight of things to come, by reaſon of their freedom from earthly bodies; and being converſant in ſuch things, and being deſirous to draw off mankind from the true God; they enter into living creatures, eſpecially thoſe that are ravenous, wild and ſagacious, and move them to what they will: or elſe, they ſtir up the fancies of ſuch living creatures, to fly or move in ſuch a manner; that men taken by the divination in theſe dumb creatures, might not ſeek the God that comprehends the univerſe, nor enquire after the pure worſhip of God; but ſuffer their reaſon to degenerate into earthly things; ſuch as birds and dragons, foxes and wolves. For it is obſerved by thoſe who are ſkillful in theſe things, that future predictions are made by ſuch living creatures as theſe; the daemons having no power to effect that in tame creatures, which, by reaſon of their likeneſs in wickedneſs, not real, but ſeeming wickedneſs in ſuch creatures, they are able to effect in other creatures: whence, if any thing be wonderful in Moſes, this particularly deſerves our admiration, that diſcerning the different natures of living creatures; and whether inſtructed by God concerning them, and the daemons appropriated to every one of them; or whether he underſtood by his own wiſdom, the

by them; or becauſe in that typical law (*a*), the particular vices of men were repreſented by certain kinds of living creatures. That theſe

ſeveral ranks and ſorts of them; he pronounced them unclean, which were eſteemed by the Egyptians, and other nations, to cauſe divination, and he declared the other to be clean'. The like to which we find in Theodoret, book vii. againſt the Greeks: and not very different from this, is that of Manetho, 'Having eſtabliſhed in the law many other things, particularly ſuch as were contrary to the cuſtoms of the Egyptians.' And that which Tacitus ſays of the Jews: 'All things are prophane amongſt them, which are ſacred amongſt us.' And afterwards: 'They ſlay a ram in contempt of Jupiter Ammon; and ſacrifice an ox, which the Egyptians worſhipped the god Apis by.'

(*a*) *In that typical law*, etc.] Barnabas in his Epiſtle. 'Moſes ſaid, ye ſhall not eat a ſwine, nor an eagle, nor a hawk, nor a raven, nor any fiſh, which hath no fins. By which he meant three opinions figuratively expreſſed. What he aims at, is evident from theſe words in Deuteronomy. And my judgments ſhall be eſtabliſhed among my people. Now, the commandment of God, is not literally to prohibit eating them; but Moſes ſpake them in a ſpiritual ſenſe. He mentions ſwine for this end, that they ſhould not converſe with men who reſemble ſwine; for when they live in luxury, they forget their maſter; but when they want, they own their maſter: thus a ſwine, while he is eating, will not own his maſter; when he is hungry, he cries out, and when he is full, he is quiet. Again, thou ſhall not, ſays he, eat the eagle, or the hawk, or the kite, or the raven. As much as to ſay, you ſhall not converſe with ſuch men, who know not how to get their food by labour and pains, but unjuſtly ſteal it from others; and who walk about as if they were ſincere, when they lie in wait for others. Thus theſe ſlothful creatures contrive how they may devour the fleſh of others, being peſtilent by their wickedneſs. Again, thou ſhalt not eat, ſays he, the lampry, nor the pourcontrel, nor the cuttle; that is

precepts were not univerſal, appears from the inſtance of what is appointed concerning the fleſh of a beaſt that died of itſelf, Deut. xiv. that it was not lawful for the Iſraelites to eat it, but

to ſay, you ſhall not converſe with thoſe men who are finally wicked, and condemned to death: as theſe ſort of fiſh alone are doomed to ſwim at the bottom of the ſea, not like others to hover on the top of the water, but to dwell on the ground at the bottom. Alſo he ſays, thou ſhalt not eat the coney: wherefore? that you may not be a corrupter of children, nor ſuch like; for the hare has a new place to lay her excrements in every year; for ſo many years as ſhe lives, ſo may holes has ſhe under ground. Further, thou ſhalt not eat the hyaena, that is, thou ſhalt not be an adulterer, or unclean perſon, or ſuch like: for what reaſon? becauſe this creature changes its nature every year, and ſometimes is a male, and ſometimes a female. And he juſtly hated the weaſel; as much as to ſay, you ſhall not be like ſuch perſons, who, we have heard, have committed iniquity in their mouths, by uncleanneſs; neither ſhall you have correſpondence with ſuch workers of iniquity; for this animal conceives in its mouth. Concerning meats, therefore, Moſes meant three things ſpiritually; but they, through fleſhly inclinations, underſtood him of meats. But David knew theſe three opinions, and therefore agreeably thereto he ſays, *Bleſſed is the man that walketh not in the counſel of the ungodly*, as fiſhes wander in darkneſs at the bottom of the ſea. *And hath not ſtood in the way of ſinners*, viz. like them, who, though they would ſeem to fear God, ſin like ſwine: *And hath not ſat in the ſeat of the ſcornful*, like birds watching for their prey. Thus you have the end and the meaning of them. But Moſes commanded to eat every creature that is cloven-footed, and that cheweth the cud: and what doeshe mean by this? He that receiveth meat knoweth him that feeds him, and is ſatisfied with it, and ſeems to rejoice; which is very well ſaid, if we conſider the command. What therefore is the meaning of

it was lawful for ſtrangers (*a*), which ſtrangers the Jews were commanded to perform all good offices to, as eſteemed of God. And the antient Hebrew teachers openly declare, that in the times of the Meſſiah (*b*), the law of the prohibition of meats ſhould ceaſe, and that ſwines fleſh ſhould

it? why, converſe with thoſe who fear their maſter; with thoſe who meditate in their hearts upon the word they have received; with thoſe who ſpeak of, and keep the judgments of their maſter; with thoſe who know that meditation is a pleaſant work, and belongs to thoſe who thoroughly conſider their maſter's word. But what means cloven-footed? that a man ſhould walk uprightly in this world, in expectation of another life. See what excellent laws are eſtabliſhed by Moſes.' Clemens commends this of Barnabas, in his fifth Strom. You may find alſo many things partly like, and partly the ſame with theſe, in Philo's book of Agriculture; and in the book, intitled, *The Wicked lay Snares for the Righteous;* which are too long to be tranſcribed. The like is to be ſeen in Euſebius, out of Ariſtaeus, book viii. chap. 9.

(*a*) *But it was lawful for ſtrangers*, etc.] Holy men, but not circumciſed, which you find mentioned, Levit. xxii. 25. and xxv. 4, 7. and in the Talmud, chap. of the King, and of the Council; and in Maimonides' book of Idolatry.

(*b*) *That in the times of the Meſſiah*, etc.] Thus R. Samuel in Mechor Chaim. The Talmud, intitled, Nida, ſays, the law was to continue but till the times of the Meſſiah. We may, moreover, obſerve, that ſome Hebrew teachers, amongſt whom is Behai, were of opinion, that the laws concerning forbidden meats, were peculiar to the land of Canaan, nor was any one obliged to obſerve them, out of the bounds thereof. And beſide, the Jews themſelves are ignorant, or at leaſt diſpute about the ſignification of many of the names of thoſe animals; which we cannot think God would have permitted, if the obligations to obſerve that law, were to have continued till this time.

be as clean as that of an ox. And certainly, ſince God deſigned to gather a people to himſelf out of all nations, it was more reaſonable, that he ſhould make liberty and not bondage, in ſuch things, common to all. Now follows an examination of feſtival days.

SECT. X. *And of Days.*

THESE were all inſtituted in memory of the benefit they had received from God, when they were delivered from the Egyptian bondage, and brought into the promiſed land. Now, the prophet Jeremiah ſays, chap. xvi, and xxiii. that the time would come, when new and much greater benefits ſhould ſo eclipſe the memory of that benefit, that there would ſcarce be any mention made of it. And, moreover, what we now ſaid of ſacrifices, is as true of feſtivals; the people began to put their truſt in them, ſo far, that if they rightly obſerved them, it was no great matter how they offended in other reſpects. Wherefore, in Iſaiah, chap. i. God ſays, that he hated their new moons and feaſt-days, they were ſuch a burden to him, that he was not able to bear them. Concerning the Sabbath, it uſes particularly to be objected, that it is an univerſal and perpetual precept, not given to one people only, but in the beginning of the world, to Adam the father of them all. To which I anſwer, agreeably to the opinions of the moſt learned Hebrews, that this precept of the Sabbath is two-

fold; a precept of rememberance (*a*), Exod. xx. 8. and precept of obſervation (*b*), Exod. xxxi. 31. The precept of rememberance is fulfilled, in a religious memory of the creation of the world; the precept of obſervation conſiſts in an exact abſtinence from all manner of labour. The firſt precept was given from the beginning, and without doubt the pious men before the law obeyed it (*c*), as Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob; the latter of whom, though we have a relation of many of their travels, yet there is no ſign (*d*) of their ſtopping their journey on the account of the Sabbath; which thing we frequently meet with, after their coming out of Egypt. For, after the people were brought out of Egypt, and had ſafely paſſed through the Red-Sea, they kept the firſt day, a Sabbath of reſt, and ſung an hymn to God, upon that account; and, from this time, that exact reſt of the Sabbath was commanded, the firſt mention of which is in the gathering of manna, Exod. xxxv. 2. Levit. xxiii. 3. And

(*a*) *A precept of rememberance*, etc.] זכיר.

(*b*) *A precept of obſervation*, etc.] שמיך. Thus Moſes Gerundenſis and Iſaac Aramas diſtinguiſh. [Obſervation and rememberance ſignify the ſame thing in Moſes, as to this matter, as we have ſhown on Deut. v. 1. however the thing here treated of is true. Le Clerc.]

(*c*) *The pious men before the law*, etc.] From whom a certain veneration for the ſeventh day, was derived to the Greeks, as Clemens obſerves. See what is ſaid in relation to this, book i.

(*d*) *Yet there is no ſign*, etc.] That the pious men of thoſe times did in this ſenſe σαββατίσαι, that is, *obſerve the Sabbath*, is denied by Juſtin, in his dialogue with Tryphon, and by Tertullian in two places againſt the Jews.

in this ſenſe, the reaſon alleged, Deut. v. 21. for the law of the Sabbath is the deliverance out of Egypt. And further, this law had regard to ſervants againſt the ſeverity of thoſe maſters, who allowed them no reſpite from their labours, as you find it in the forecited places. It is true indeed, that ſtrangers were obliged by this law (*a*), and that for this reaſon, that there might be an univerſal reſt of all the people. But that this law of perfect reſt was not given to other people, appears from hence, that in many places it is called a ſign, and a particular covenant between God and the Iſraelites, Exod. xxxi. 13, 16. And further, that thoſe things which were inſtituted in memory of the coming out of Egypt, are not ſuch as ought never to ceaſe, we have before ſhown, from the promiſe of much greater benefits. To which may be added, that if the law concerning reſt on the Sabbath, had been given from the beginning, and in ſuch a manner as never to be aboliſhed; certainly that law would have prevailed over all other laws; the contrary to which we now find. For it is evident, that children were rightly circumciſed on the Sabbath-day (*b*); and while the temple ſtood, the ſacrifices were ſlain on the Sabbath-day (*c*), as well

(*a*) *Strangers were obliged by this law*, etc.] Not thoſe others, who, out of Judea, obſerved the precepts given to the poſterity of Noah. This is the opinion of the Hebrews.

(*b*) *That children were rightly circumciſed*, etc.] Thus the Hebrew proverb, *The Sabbath gives way to circumciſion.* See John vii. 22.

(*c*) *The ſacrifices were ſlain*, etc.] Numb. xxviii. 9.

as on other days. The Hebrew teachers themſelves ſhow, that this law is changeable; when they ſay that work may juſtly be done on the Sabbath, at the command of a prophet, which they prove by the example of the taking of Jericho on the Sabbath-day by the command of Joſhua. And that in the time of the Meſſiah, the difference of days ſhould be taken away; ſome of them ſhow very well, from that place of Iſaiah lxvi. 23. where it is foretold, that there ſhould be a continual worſhip of God from Sabbath to Sabbath, from new moon to new moon.

SECT. XI. *And Circumciſion of the Fleſh.*

WE come now to circumciſion, which is indeed ancienter than Moſes, as being commanded to Abraham and his poſterity; but this very precept was the beginning of the covenant declared by Moſes. Thus we find God ſaid to Abraham, Gen. xvii. *I will give unto thee, and to thy ſeed after thee, the land wherein thou art a ſtranger, even the land of Canaan, for an everlaſting poſſeſſion; therefore keep my covenant, thou and thy ſeed for ever; this is the covenant betwixt me and thee, and thy ſeed, every male ſhall be circumciſed.* But we have before ſeen; that there was to ſucceed a new covenant, in the room of this covenant, ſuch as ſhould be common to all people; for which reaſon the neceſſity of a mark of diſtinction muſt ceaſe. And this is further evident, that there was ſome myſtical and higher ſignification contained under this precept of cir-

cumciſion; as appears from the prophets, when they command the heart to be circumciſed (*a*), to which all the precepts of Chriſt tend. So likewiſe the promiſes added to circumciſion, muſt of neceſſity relate to ſomething further: namely, that of an earthly poſſeſſion, to the revelation of an everlaſting poſſeſſion (*b*); which was never made more manifeſt, than by Jeſus; and that of making Abraham a father of many nations (*c*); till that time, when not only ſome few people, but innumerable of them, ſpread all over the world, ſhould imitate that memorable faith of Abraham towards God; which never yet came to paſs, but by the goſpel. Now, it is no wonder, that when the work is finiſhed, the ſhadow of the work that was deſigned, ſhould be taken away. And that God's mercy was not confined to this ſign (*d*), is from hence manifeſt; that not only thoſe who lived before Abraham, but even Abraham himſelf was acceptable to God before he was

(*a*) *The heart to be circumciſed*, etc.] Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Jer. iv. 4.

(*b*) *To the revelation*, etc.] Heb. iv.

(*c*) *And that of making Abraham a father*, etc.] Gen. xvii. 5. Rom. iv. 11, 13, 16, 17. Luke xix. 9. Gal. iii. 7.

(*d*) *And that God's mercy*, etc.] Juſtin, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, ſays, 'Circumciſion was given for a ſign, and not for a work of righteouſneſs.' And Irenaeus, book iv. ch. 30. 'We learn from ſcripture, that circumciſion is not that which perfects righteouſneſs; but God gave it, that Abraham's poſterity might continue diſtinguiſhable. For God ſaid to Abraham, let every male of you be circumciſed, and circumciſe the fleſh of your foreſkin, and it ſhall be for a ſign of a covenant betwixt you and me.'

circumciſed: and circumciſion was omitted by the Hebrews all the while they journeyed through the deſarts of Arabia (*a*), without being reproved of God for it.

SECT. XII. *And yet the Apoſtles of Jeſus eaſily allowed of thoſe Things.*

THERE was certainly very good reaſon, why the Hebrews ſhould return their hearty thanks to Jeſus and his ambaſſadors; in that he freed them from that heavy burden of rites, and ſecured their liberty to them, by miracles and gifts (*b*), no way inferior to thoſe of Moſes. But yet they who firſt delivered this doctrine, did not require this of them, that they ſhould acknowlege ſuch their happineſs; but if they would perform the precepts of Jeſus, which were full of all virtue, they eaſily allowed them in indiferent things, to follow what courſe (*c*) of life they would; provided they did not impoſe the obſervation of it (*d*), as neceſſary, upon ſtrangers, to whom the ritual law was never given; which one thing ſufficiently ſhows, that the Jews very unjuſtly reject the doctrine of Jeſus, under pre-

(*a*) *All the while they journeyed*, etc.] Joſh. v. 5, 6.

(*b*) *By miracles and gifts no way inferior*, etc.] R. Levi Ben Gerſon ſaid, that the miracles of the Meſſiah ought to be greater than thoſe of Moſes, which is moſt evident in the dead reſtored to life.

(*c*) *To follow what courſe of life they would*, etc.] Acts xvi. 3. xxi. 24. Rom. xiv. 1. 1 Cor. ix. 17. Gal. v. 6. Coloſ. iii. 2.

(*d*) *Provided they did not impoſe*, etc.] Acts xv. Gal. i. 3, 6, 15. iv. 10. vi. 12.

tence of the ritual law. Having anſwered this objection, which is almoſt the only one commonly oppoſed to the miracles of Jeſus, we come now to other arguments ſuited to convince the Jews.

SECT. XIII. *A Proof againſt the Jews, taken from their own Confeſſion of the extraordinary Promiſe of the Meſſiah.*

BOTH they and we are agreed, that in the predictions of the prophets there is a promiſe, that amongſt the many perſons who ſhould make known to the Jews, from heaven, very great advantages, there ſhould be one, far exceeding the reſt, whom they called the Meſſiah; which, tho' a common name, did more eminently agree to this perſon only. We aſſert, that he came long ſince; they expect that he is yet to come. It remains, therefore, that we put an end to the controverſy, from thoſe books, the authority of which is equally acknowleged by both.

SECT. XIV. *That he is already come, appears from the time foretold.*

DANIEL, a teſtimony of whoſe great piety Ezekiel (*a*) affords us, could neither deceive us, nor

(*a*) *A teſtimony of whoſe great piety*, etc.] Ch. xiv. 14. xxviii. 3. Joſephus, concerning Daniel, at the end of the tenth book, ſays, 'That the Spirit of God was with him.' And afterwards, 'That he was endued with every thing, in an incredible manner, as being one of the greateſt of the prophets. In his life-time, he was had in great

be deceived himſelf by the angel Gabriel: and he, according to the direction of the angel, has left us upon record, chap. ix. that there ſhould not paſs above five hundred years, between the publication of the edict for rebuilding the city of Jeruſalem, and the coming of the Meſſiah (*a*). But there is above two thouſand years paſſed, ſince that time to this day, and he whom the Jews expect is not yet come; neither can they name any other, to whom that time will agree. But it agrees ſo well to Jeſus, that a Hebrew teacher, Nehemiah (*b*), who lived five hundred years before him, ſaid openly then, that the time of the Meſſiah, ſignified by Daniel, could not be deferred above five hundred years. There is another mark before hinted at, which agrees with this of the time; and that is, that a government over all nations (*c*), ſhould be appointed

honour and eſteem, both by the kings and the people: and after his death, he was had in everlaſting remembrance; the books wrote by him, and left to us, we read at this day, and their teſtimony convinces us, that he had a communication with God.'

(*a*) *And the coming of the Meſſiah*, etc.] The great Hebrew doctors, ſuch as Solomon Jarchi, Rabbi Joſue, quoted by Abeneſdras, and Saaidias, agree, that the ſon of man in Daniel, is the Meſſiah: thus Rabbi Joſue, who ſaw the razing of the temple, ſaid that the time of the Meſſiah was then paſt, as R. Jacob in Caphthor teſtifies.

(*b*) *A Hebrew teacher, Nehemiah*, etc.] Grotius ought to have told us whence he had this. If I remember right, in ſome epiſtle of his to his brother William Grotius, he ſays he received it from a Jew. Le Clerc.

(*c*) *That a government over all nations*, etc.] R. Levi Ben Gerſon tells us, that that ſtone, by the blow whereof

from heaven, after the poſterity of Seleucus (*a*) and Lagus ſhould ceaſe to reign; the latter of which ended in Cleopatra, not long before Jeſus was born. A third token is in the forementioned chap. ix. of Daniel; that after the coming of the Meſſiah the city of Jeruſalem ſhould be razed; which prophecy of the deſtruction of that city, Joſephus himſelf refers to his own age (*b*). From whence it follows, that the time limited for the coming of the Meſſiah was then paſt. To this may be referred that of Haggai, chap. ii. where God comforts Zerubbabel, a heathen prince, and Joſhua the ſon of Joſedech, the high-prieſt, upon their ſorrow, becauſe the temple built by them, did not anſwer the greatneſs of the former temple, with this promiſe, that there ſhould be greater honour done to that temple, than to the former: which could be ſaid, neither of the

that image which repreſented the empires ſhould be broken to pieces, was the Meſſiah. Rabbi Solomon, R. Abeneſdras, and R. Saaida ſay, that that kingdom, which would conſume the reſt of the kingdoms, was the kingdom of the Meſſiah. R. Levi Ben Gerſon and Saaida, affirm the ſon of man in Daniel, to be the Meſſiah.

(*a*) *The poſterity of Seleucus and Lagus*, etc.] See the Annotations upon this, in the firſt book.

(*b*) *Joſephus himſelf refers to his own age*, etc.] Book x. ch. 12. 'Daniel wrote concerning this time, and concerning the Roman empire, and that our nation ſhould be deſtroyed by it. God having diſcovered all theſe things to him, he left them us in writing; ſo that whoever reads them, and conſiders what has come to paſs, cannot but admire the honour God did to Daniel.' Jaccides alſo upon Dan. ix. 24. tells us, that the ſeventy weeks of years were finiſhed in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

bigneſs of the work, nor of the materials, nor of the workmanſhip, or of the ornaments; as is very plain from the hiſtory of thoſe times, in the ſacred writings, and in Joſephus, compared with that of the temple of Solomon: to which we may add, which is obſerved by the Hebrew teachers, that there were wanting two very great endowments in the latter temple, which were in the former, *viz.* a viſible light (*a*), as a token of the divine majeſty, and a divine inſpiration. But wherein this latter temple was to exceed the former, God briefly declares, when he ſays, that he would eſtabliſh his peace (*b*), that is, his favour and good-will, in that temple, as it were by a firm covenant: this is further proſecuted by Malachi, chap. iii. *Behold, I will ſend my meſſenger, who ſhall prepare my way; and the Lord whom ye ſeek* (c) *ſhall ſuddenly come to his temple*; (now Malachi lived after the latter temple was built;) *even the meſſenger of the covenant whom ye delight in.* Therefore the Meſſiah ought to come while the ſecond temple ſtood, in which ac-

(*a*) *A viſible light, as a token*, etc.] In the title concerning Inſtruction, and the Jeruſalem Gemara, chap. 3.

(*b*) *That he would eſtabliſh his peace*, etc.] We muſt obſerve what goes before. *The deſire of all nations ſhall come, and I will fill this houſe with glory.* Which wonderfully agrees with what we have taken out of Malachi; ſo that theſe two prophets may ſerve for interpreters of each other. Rabbi Akiba, and many others, as Rabbi Solomon teſtifies, were of opinion, that the Meſſiah ought to come in the ſecond temple.

(*c*) *And the Lord whom ye ſeek*, etc.] This place of Malachi, the Jews commonly explain of the Meſſiah.

count (*a*) is reckoned, by the Hebrews, all the time from Zerubbabel to Veſpaſian; for the temple, in the time of Herod the great, was not rebuilt from the foundation, but only gradually renewed by parts (*b*); notwithſtanding which alteration, it might be called the ſame temple. And indeed there was ſo firm an expectation of the Meſſiah at that time among the Hebrews, and their neighbours, that Herod (*c*) was thought by ſome to be the Meſſiah, Judas Gaulonita (*d*) by others, and ſome more by others (*e*), who lived about the time of our Saviour.

(*a*) *In which account is reckoned*, etc.] As in the Talmud, chapter the laſt, concerning the Council; and that entitled Jorna, and that entitled Roch. Haſſchana.

(*b*) *Gradually renewed by parts*, etc.] Philo concerning the World. 'That is not corruptible, all the parts of which are corrupting gradually; but that all the parts of which are deſtroyed together at the ſame time.' Add to this, L. proponebatur. D de Judiciis. et L. quid tamen. Sect. in navis. D. quibus modis uſus fructus amittatur.

(*c*) *That Herod was thought by ſome*, etc.] Theſe were the Herodians, Matth. xii. 16. Mark iii. 6. viii. 15. xiii. 13. Tertullian in his Enumeration of Heretics; 'amongſt theſe were the Herodians, who ſaid that Herod was the Chriſt.' And Epiphanius ſays the ſame of them: agreeable to which is that of the ancient Scholiaſt on Perſius; 'Herod reigned amongſt the Jews in the time of Auguſtus, in the parts of Syria; therefore the Herodians keep the birthday of Herod, as they do the Sabbath, upon which day they put lighted candles crowned with violets on their windows.'

(*d*) *Judas Gaulonita by others*, etc.] See Joſephus xviii. 1. Acts v. 36.

(*e*) *And ſome more by others*, etc.] Acts xxi. 38. Joſephus has many inſtances in the time of Felix, and ſome after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

SECT. XV. (*With an Anſwer to what is alleged, that his coming was deferred upon the Account of the Sins of the People.*)

THE Jews ſee themſelves put to difficulties by theſe arguments: that they may elude the force of them, therefore, ſome ſay, that their ſins were the cauſe why he did not come at the promiſed time. Now, not to mention, that in the forecited prophecies (*a*), what is determined by them has no ſign of being ſuſpended upon any conditions, how could his coming be deferred on the account of their ſins, when this alſo was foretold, that for the many and great ſins of the people, the city ſhould be deſtroyed (*b*), a little after the time of the Meſſiah? Further, the Meſſiah was to come for this very reaſon, that he might bring a remedy (*c*) for the moſt corrupt age; and to-

(*a*) *And in the forecited prophecies*, etc.] This is expreſly affirmed by R. Jochanan in Schemoth Rabba, and R. David Kaimchi, on Pſal. cviii. 5. Joſephus, book x. towards the end, ſays well of Daniel: 'That in his prophecies, he not only foretold what was to come, like the other prophets, but he determined the time in which thoſe things ſhould come to paſs.' That the decree of the Meſſiah's being ſent at that time, was not ſuſpended upon any conditions, appears alſo from Malachi iii. 1. Beſides, ſeeing that the Meſſiah was to be the author of the new covenant, as Malachi in that place, and other prophets ſhew, his coming could not be ſuſpended on the condition of obſerving that covenant he came to aboliſh.

(*b*) *The city ſhould be deſtroyed*, etc.] Dan. ix. 24.

(*c*) *That he might bring a remedy*, etc.] Iſaiah liii. 4. and following verſes. Jeremiah xxxi. 31. and what follows. Ezekiel xi. 19, 21.

gether with the rules of reforming their lives, aſſure them of pardon of their ſins. Whence it is ſaid in Zechariah, chap. xiii. concerning his time; that a fountain ſhould then be opened to the houſe of David, and to all in Jeruſalem, to waſh away their ſins; and it is a common thing among the Jews to call the Meſſiah, ISCH COPHER (*a*), that is, *the Appeaſer*. It is therefore very repugnant to reaſon, to ſay, that that was deferred upon the account of the diſeaſe, which was directly appointed for that diſeaſe.

SECT. XVI. *Alſo from the preſent State of the Jews, compared with the Promiſes of the Law.*

As to what we ſaid, that the Meſſiah is long ſince come upon earth, even experience might convince the Jews. God promiſed them in the covenant made with Moſes (*b*), a quiet poſſeſſion of the land of Paleſtine, ſo long as they conformed their lives to the precepts of the law: and on the contrary, if they ſinned (*c*) grievouſly againſt it, he threatened to drive them out; and ſuch like evils: yet notwithſtanding this, if at any time, when, under the preſſure of theſe calami-

(*a*) *Iſch Copher*, אִישׁ כֹּפֵר.] See the Chaldee Paraphraſe on Cant. i. 14. R. Judas in Chaſidim, and R. Simeon, in BereſchithRabbah, ſay, that the Meſſiah ſhould bear our ſins.

(*b*) *God promiſed them in the covenant*, etc.] Exod. xv. Levit. xviii. and vi, vii, x, xxviii.

(*c*) *If they ſinned grievouſly againſt it*, etc.] Lev. xxvi. Deut. iv, xi, xxviii.

ties, and led by repentance of their ſins, they returned to obedience; he would be merciful towards his people, and cauſe them to return into their own country, though diſperſed into the furtheſt parts of the world; as you may ſee in many places, particularly Deut. xxx. and Nehemiah i. But now it is above fifteen hundred years, ſince the Jews have been out of their own country, and without a temple: and if at any time they attempted to build a new one (*a*), they were always hindered. Nay, Ammianus Marcellinus (*b*), who was not a Chriſtian writer, reports that balls of fire broke out of the foundation, and deſtroyed their work. When of old, the people had defiled themſelves with the greateſt wickedneſs, every where ſacrificed their children to Saturn, looked upon adultery as nothing, ſpoiled the widows and the orphans, ſhed innocent blood in great plenty; all which the prophets reproach them with (*c*); they were driven out of their country; but not

(*a*) *Attempted to build a new one*, etc.] In the times of Adrian, Conſtantine, and Julian, Chryſoſtom ii. againſt the Jews.

(*b*) *Nay, Ammianus Marcellinus*, etc.] Book xxiii. Chryſoſtom ii. againſt the Jews. 'Fire immediately broke out of the foundation, and burnt many men, and alſo the ſtones of that place.' The whole place is worth reading. The ſame author has the like words, in his fourth Homily upon Matthew, and in his Diſcourſe of Chriſt's being God.

(*c*) *All which the prophets reproach them with*, etc.] Iſa. i. 17. iii. 14, 15. v. 23. xi. 2, 3. lix. lxv. Amos ii. 6. Jer. ii. iii. v. vii. 21. viii. x. xi. xvi. xxii. Ezek. ii. vi. vii. viii. xvi. xxii. xxiv. Dan. ix. Micah ii. 1, 2, 3.

longer than ſeventy years (*a*): and in the mean time, God did not neglect ſpeaking to them by prophets (*b*), and comforting them with hopes of their return, telling them the very time (*c*). But now, ever ſince they have been driven out of of their country (*d*), they have continued vagabonds and deſpiſed, no prophet has come to them, no ſigns of their future return; their teachers, as if they were inſpired with a ſpirit of giddineſs, have ſunk into low fables, and ridiculous opinions, with which the books of the Talmud abound; which yet they preſume to call the oral law, and to compare them, nay, to prefer them above what is written by Moſes. For what we there find of God's mourning (*e*) becauſe he ſuffered the city to be deſtroyed, of his daily diligence in reading the law (*f*), of the Behemoth and Leviathan (*g*), and many other things (*h*), is ſo ab-

(*a*) *But not longer than ſeventy years*, etc.] R. Samuel makes this objection in his R. Iſaac.

(*b*) *Speaking to them by prophets*, etc.] Jeremiah xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. Ezek. xxxvi. xxxvii.

(*c*) *Telling them the very time*, etc.] Jerem. xxv. 15. xxix. 10.

(*d*) *But now, ever ſince they have been driven out*, etc.] The Talmud in Baba Bathra.

(*e*) *Of God's mourning*, etc.] See the Preface of Echad Rabbathi; the like to which we find in the Talmud, entitled, Chagiga, in Debarim Rabba, and in Berachoth.

(*f*) *Of his daily diligence*, etc.] Thaanith, and Aboda Zara.

(*g*) *Of the Behemoth and Leviathan*, etc.] See the Talmud Baba Bathra, and the Chaldee Paraphraſt on the Song of Solomon, viii. 8.

(*h*) *And many other things*, etc.] Many of which, Gerſon the Chriſtian has tranſcribed in his book againſt the Jews;

ſurd, that it is troubleſome to relate them. And yet in this long ſpace of time, the Jews have neither gone aſide to the worſhip of falſe gods, nor defiled themſelves with murder, nor are accuſed of adultery; but they endeavour to appeaſe God by prayers and faſting (*a*), and yet they are not heard: which being thus, we muſt of neceſſity conclude one of theſe two things, that either that covenant made by Moſes is intirely diſſolved, or that the whole body of the Jews are guilty of ſome grievous ſin, which has continued for ſo many ages: and what that is, let them tell us themſelves; or if they cannot ſay what, let them believe us; that that ſin is, their deſpiſing the Meſſiah, who came before theſe evils began to befal them.

SECT. XVII. *Jeſus proved to be the Meſſiah, from thoſe things that were predicted of the Meſſiah.*

AND theſe things do indeed prove, as was before ſaid, that the Meſſiah did come ſo many ages ſince; to which I add, that he was no other than Jeſus; for all others, who were willing to have themſelves thought the Meſſiah, or were really thought ſo, left no ſect in which that opini-

ſee thoſe chapters in it concerning the devils, concerning the Meſſiah, concerning the revelations by Elias, concerning Hell, concerning the kingdom of the ten Tribes beyond the river Sabaticus, and concerning the Deeds of the Rabbies.

(*a*) *But they endeavoured to appeaſe God*, etc.] Whereas, if we may believe themſelves, they highly merit of God, for rejecting a falſe Meſſiah, who was received by ſo great a part of mankind.

on continued. None now profeſs themſelves to be followers of Herod or Judas Gaulonita, or of Barchochebas (*a*), who, in the times of Adrian, declared himſelf to be the Meſſiah, and deceived many learned men (*b*). But there have been ſuch as owned Jeſus, ever ſince he was upon earth, to this very day, and they a great many (*c*), not in one country, but all the world over. I might here allege many other things, formerly predicted, or believed of the Meſſiah, which we believe to have been compleated in Jeſus, and which were not ſo much as affirmed of any other; ſuch as theſe, that he was of the ſeed of David (*d*); that he was born of a virgin (*e*); that this thing was diſcovered from heaven (*f*),

(*a*) *Or of Barchochebas*, etc.] Whom Juſtin ſtiles, *The chief of the revolt of the Jews*. He is mentioned by Euſebius, Jerom, Oroſius in the Talmud, intitled, concerning the Council, in Bereſchith Rabbah, by the Rabbies John and Abraham Salmanticenſis, and others, in many places.

(*b*) *And deceived many learned men*, etc.] As Rabbi Akiba; ſee the Talmud, intitled, concerning the Council, and the book Zemach David.

(*c*) *And they a great many*, etc.] See what is ſaid of this in the ſecond book.

(*d*) *That he was of the ſeed of David*, etc.] Pſal. lxxxix. 4. Iſa. iv. 2. xi. 10. Jer. xxiii. 5. Ezek. xxxiv. 24. Micah v. 2. Matth. i. 1, 20. ix. 27. xii. 23. xv. 22. xx. 30, 31. xxi. 9, 15. xxii. 42. and following verſes. Mark x. 47. xii. 35, 36, 37. Luke i. 27, 32, 69. ii. 4, 11. xviii. 38, 39. xx. 42, 44. John vii. 42. Acts xiii. 34. xv. 6. Rom. i. 3. 2 Tim. ii. 8. Rev. v. 5. xxii. 16.

(*e*) *That he was born of a virgin*, etc.] Iſaiah vii. 14. Matth. i. 18, 22, 23. Luke i. 3, 5.

(*f*) *That this thing was diſcovered from heaven*, etc.] Matth. i. 20.

to him who had married that virgin, and would not keep her in marriage, becauſe ſhe was big with child by another; that he was born in Bethlehem (*a*); that he began to ſpread his doctrine firſt in Galilee (*b*); that he healed all kinds of diſeaſes (*c*); made the blind to ſee, and the lame to walk: but I ſhall content myſelf with one, the effect of which remains to this day; and is manifeſt from the prophecies of David (*d*), Iſaiah (*e*), Zachariah (*f*), and Hoſea (*g*), *viz.* that the Meſſiah was to be the inſtructor of all nations; that the worſhip of falſe gods ſhould be overthrown by him (*h*); and that he ſhould bring a vaſt multitude of ſtrangers to the worſhip of one God. Before the coming of Jeſus, almoſt the whole world was ſubject to falſe worſhip; which began to vaniſh afterwards by degrees, and not

(*a*) *That he was born in Bethlehem*, etc.] Micah v. 2. Matth. ii. 1,—6. Luke ii. 4.

(*b*) *That he began to ſpread*, etc.] Iſa. iv. 1. Matth. iv. 12, 13. Mark i. 4. Luke iv. 14, 15, 16. and in many other places.

(*c*) *That he healed all kinds of diſeaſes*, etc.] Iſa. xxxv. 9. lxi. 1. Matth. xi. 5. Luke iv. 18. and every where elſe. Further, he alſo raiſed the dead, which R. Levi Ben Gerſon reckons among the principal marks of the Meſſiah.

(*d*) *David*, etc.] Pſalm ii. 8. xxii. 28. lxviii. 32. lxxii. 8, 17.

(*e*) *Iſaiah*, etc.] Ch. ii. 2. xi. 10. xiv. 1. xix. 18. xxvii. 13. xxxv. xlii. and xliii. particularly xlix. 6. li. 5. lii. 15. liv. lv. 4, 5. lx. 3. and following ones, lxv. 1, 2. lxvi. 19. and following.

(*f*) *Zachariah*, etc.] Ch. ii. 11. viii. 20. and following. ix. 9, 10, 11. xiv. 16.

(*g*) *Hoſea*, etc.] Ch. ii. 24.

(*h*) *That the worſhip of falſe gods*, etc.] Iſaiah ii. 18, 20. xxxi. 7. xlvi. 1. Zeph. i. 4, 5, 6. Zach. xiii. 2.

only particular perſons, but whole nations, and kings, were converted to the worſhip of one God. Theſe things are not owing to the Jewiſh Rabbies, but to the diſciples of Jeſus, and their ſucceſſors. Thus they were made the people of God (*a*), who were not ſo before; and that prediction of Jacob, Geneſis xlix. was fulfilled, that before the civil power was taken from the poſterity of Judah, Shiloh ſhould come, whom the Chaldee (*b*), and other interpreters, explain to be the Meſſiah, whom foreign nations alſo were to obey (*c*.)

SECT. XVIII. *An Anſwer to what is alleged, that ſome things were not fulfilled.*

HERE the Jews commonly object, that there were ſome things predicted of the times of the Meſſiah, which we do not ſee fulfilled. But thoſe which they allege are obſcure, and may have a a different ſignification; for which we ought not to reject thoſe that are plain; ſuch as the holineſs

(*a*) *They were made the people of God*, etc.] Hoſea ii. 24.

(*b*) *Whom the Chaldee*, etc.] Both Jonathan, the author of the Jeruſalem Paraphraſe, and the writers of the Talmud, in the title, concerning the Council; Bereſchith Rabba, Jakumnus, on the Pentateuch, Rabbi Solomon, and others, שבט, which the Jews now would have to be *a rod of chaſtiſement*; the Targum in Chaldee explains by שלטן, and the Greeks ἀρχων, *a governor*; Aquila, σκῆπτρον, *a Sceptre*; Symmachus, ἐξουσία, *power*. And שילה is explained by בנו *his ſon*, by the Chaldee, R. Siloh, R. Bechai, R. Solomon, Abeneſdras, and Kimchi. See what is excellently ſaid concerning this place in Chryſoſtom, in his Diſcourſe, that Chriſt is God.

(*c*) *Whom foreign nations alſo were to obey*, etc.] See the forecited place of Iſaiah xi. 10 which affords light to this.

of the precepts of Jeſus; the excellency of the reward; the plainneſs of ſpeech in which it was delivered; to which we may add the miracles; and all together ought to engage us to embrace his doctrine. In order to underſtand aright the prophecies of the ſealed book (*a*), as it is commonly called, there is many times need of ſome divine aſſiſtance, which is juſtly with-held from thoſe, who neglect thoſe things that are plain. Now, that thoſe places, which they object, may be variouſly explained, they themſelves are not ignorant of: and if any one cares to compare the antient interpreters, who were in the Babyloniſh captivity (*b*), or elſewhere, concerning the times of Jeſus, with thoſe who wrote after the name of the Chriſtians began to be hated amongſt the Jews, he will find that partiality was the cauſe of new explications; and that thoſe which were formerly received, agreed very well with the ſenſe of the Chriſtians. They are not ignorant themſelves, that many things in the ſacred writings are not to be underſtood according to the ſtrict propriety of the words, but in a figurative ſenſe (*c*); as when God is ſaid to have

(*a*) *The prophecies of the ſealed book*, etc.] Iſa. xxix. 11. Dan. xii. 4, 9. and Jacchiades upon them. See Chryſoſtom's Diſſertation about this matter, Diſcourſe ii. why the old teſtament is obſcure.

(*b*) *Who were in the Babyloniſh captivity*, etc.] Grotius ſeems to have reſpect to the Chaldee interpreters of the old teſtament, and to ſpeak according to the opinion of the Jews, who thought them older than they were. See Brian Walton's Prologomena to the Polyglot Bible, chap. xii. Le Clerc.

(*c*) *But in a figurative ſenſe*, etc.] Thus Maimonides in

deſcended (*a*); when mouth (*b*), ears (*c*), eyes (*d*), and noſe (*e*) are aſcribed to him. And what hinders but that many things, ſpoken of the times of the Meſſiah, may be explained in this manner? As that the wolf and the lamb (*f*), the leopard and the kid, the lion and the calf, ſhould lie down together; that a young child ſhould play with the ſnakes; that the mountain of God (*g*) ſhould riſe higher than the reſt of the mountains; that ſtrangers ſhould come thither to perform holy rites. There are ſome promiſes which appear, from the foregoing and following words, or from their own ſenſe, to contain in them a tacit condition. Thus God promiſed many things to the Hebrews, if they would receive and obey the Meſſiah when he came; which if they do not come to paſs, they muſt impute it to themſelves.

his firſt book, would have that place of Iſaiah xi. 6. of the times of the Meſſiah underſtood allegorically; and thus David Kimchi ſpeaks of the ſame place of Iſaiah, who alſo ſays the ſame of Jeremiah ii. 15. v. 6.

(*a*) *As when God is ſaid to have deſcended*, etc.] As Gen. xi. 5. xviii. 12. See Maimonides of theſe and the like forms of ſpeech, in his Guide to the Doubting, part i. ch. 10, 11, 29, and following; and alſo upon Deuteronomy, where he ſpeaks of the king. In the cabaliſtical book, Nazael Iſrael ſays, that the things belonging to the Meſſiah would be heavenly.

(*b*) *Mouth*, etc.] As Jeremiah ix. 12.

(*c*) *Ears*, etc.] As Pſalm xxxi. 3. xxxiv. 16.

(*d*) *Eyes*, etc.] In the place of the forecited pſalm.

(*e*) *Noſe*, etc.] Pſal. xviii. 9. Jer. xxxii. 37.

(*f*) *That the wolf and the lamb*, etc.] In the formentioned place of Iſaiah xi. 6. and following verſes.

(*g*) *That the mountain of God*, etc.] Iſa. ii. Mic. iv. 1. and following.

And if there be any which are expreſly and unconditionally promiſed, and are not yet fulfilled, they may yet be expected. For it is agreed, even amongſt the Jews, that the time or kingdom (*a*) of the Meſſiah was to continue to the end of the world.

SECT. XIX. *And to that which is objected, of the low Condition and Death of Jeſus.*

MANY are offended at the mean condition of Jeſus, but without any reaſon; for God ſays every where in the ſacred writings, that he exalteth the humble (*b*), and caſteth down the proud. Jacob went over Jordan (*c*), carrying nothing with him but his ſtaff, and returned thither again enriched with great plenty of cattle. Moſes was baniſhed, and poor, and a feeder of cattle, when God appeared to him in the buſh (*d*), and made him leader of his people; David alſo, when he was feeding his flock (*e*), was called to be king; and the ſacred hiſtory is full of other ſuch like examples. And of the Meſſiah, we read that he was to be a joyful meſſenger to the poor (*f*), that he ſhould not lift up his voice in the

(*a*) *That the time or kingdom of the Meſſiah*, etc.] Perek Chelek, p. 97.

(*b*) *That he exalteth the humble*, etc.] 1 Kings ii. 8. Pſalm xxxiv. 19. Prov. xi. 2. Iſa. lvii. 15. lxvi. 2.

(*c*) *Jacob went over Jordan*, etc.] Gen. xxxii. and following.

(*d*) *When God appeared to him in the buſh*, etc.] Exod. iii.

(*e*) *David alſo when he was feeding his flock*, etc.] 1 Sam. xvi. 7, 11.

(*f*) *A joyful meſſenger to the poor*, etc.] Iſaiah lxi. 1. Matth. xi. 5. and Zach. ix. 9.

ſtreet (*a*), nor make uſe of contention, but ſhould act mildly, ſo as to ſpare a ſhaking reed, and to cheriſh the heat which remained in the ſmoking flax. Neither ought his other hardſhips, and death itſelf, to render him more odious to any one. For God often permits pious men, not only to be vexed by the wicked, as Lot was by the men of Sodom (*b*); but alſo to be killed; as is manifeſt in the example of Abel (*c*), ſlain by his brother; of Iſaiah (*d*), who was cut in pieces; of the Maccabees brethren (*e*), tormented to death with their mother. The Jews themſelves ſing the ſeventy-ninth Pſalm; in which are theſe words: *They have given the dead bodies of thy ſervants to the fowls of the air, and the remains of them whom thou loveſt to the beaſts: they have poured out their blood within the walls of Jeruſalem, and there was none to bury them,* and ſo on. And that the Meſſiah himſelf was to arrive at his kingdom, and to the power of beſtowing on his diſciples the greateſt good things, through troubles and death, no-body can deny, who reads thoſe words of Iſaiah with an

(*a*) *That he ſhould not liſt up his voice in the ſtreet,* etc.] Iſaiah xlii. 2, 3, 4. Matth. xii. 19, 20.

(*b*) *As Lot was by the men of Sodom,* etc.] Gen. xix.

(*c*) *In the example of Abel,* etc.] Gen. iv.

(*d*) *Of Iſaiah, who was cut in pieces,* etc.] So ſays the tradition of the Jews, to which the author of the Hebrews has reſpect, xii. 37. and Joſephus x. 4. Chalcidius on Timaeus. 'As the prophets by wicked men, one cut in pieces, another overwhelmed with ſtones.'

(*e*) *Of the Maccabees brethren,* etc.] 2 Maccab. vii. Joſephus, in his book, *Of the Government of Reaſon.*

attentive mind, chap. liii. (a) *Who hath believed our report? and who hath acknowleged the power of God? And that for this reaſon, becauſe he hath ariſen in the ſight of God as a tender plant, as graſs out of the ſandy ground: there is no beauty or comelineſs in his countenance, neither if you look upon him, is there any thing delightful; he was expoſed to contempt, and was as the moſt deſpiſed amongſt men: he endured many ſorrows, many griefs. All men turned away themſelves from him; he was ſo much deſpiſed as to be thought of no value; but indeed he hath endured our* (b) *diſeaſes, he hath borne our calamities. We eſteemed him as ſtruck from heaven, as ſmitten and afflicted of God: but he was wounded for our ſins, he was bruiſed for our crimes; the puniſhment which ſhould procure ſafety for us* (c) *was laid on him; his ſtripes were a remedy for us; for aſſuredly we have all wandered to and fro like ſheep; God hath inflicted on him the puniſhment due to our crimes. And yet when he was afflicted and grievouſly tormented, he did not lift up his voice, but was ſilent as a lamb going to be ſlain, and a ſheep to be ſhorn. After bonds, after judgment,*

(a) *Chap. liii.* etc.] Which place is interpreted of the Meſſiah, by the Chaldee Paraphraſt, and the Babyloniſh Gemara, intitled, concerning the Council.

(b) *But indeed he hath endured our diſeaſes*, etc.] Abarbanel upon this place, tells us, that by *diſeaſes* are to be underſtood *any evils*.

(c) *The puniſhment which ſhould procure ſafety for us*, etc.] Rabboth, and Solomon Jarchi, on the Gemara, intitled, concerning the Council, explains theſe words concerning the Meſſiah.

he was taken from amongſt men; but now, who can worthily declare the continuance of his life? He was taken out of this place wherein we live; but this evil befel him for the ſins of my people. He was delivered into the hands of powerful and wicked men, even unto death and burial, when he had done no injury to any one, nor was deceit ever found in his ſpeech: but although God permitted him to be thus far bruiſed and afflicted with pains, yet becauſe he has made himſelf a ſacrifice for ſin (a), *he ſhall ſee his poſterity* (b), *he ſhall live a long life; and thoſe things which are acceptable to God, ſhall happily ſucceed through him; ſeeing himſelf freed from evil, ſays God, he ſhall be ſatisfied with pleaſure* (c), *and that principally for this reaſon, becauſe, by his doctrine, my righteous ſervant ſhall acquit many, bearing himſelf their ſins. I will give him a large portion when the ſpoil* (d) *ſhall be divided amongſt the warriors;*

(*a*) *Yet becauſe he has made himſelf a ſacrifice*, etc.] Alſeck ſays, that evils borne with a willing mind, are here ſpoken of.

(*b*) *He ſhall ſee his poſterity*, etc.] Alſeck here ſays, that by the word *ſeed* in the Hebrew, is meant *diſciples*. Thus the *ſeed of the ſerpent* is interpreted *the Canaanites*; and ſo ſome underſtand it to mean *their children*, Iſa. viii. 18. as the Jeruſalem Talmud obſerves, under the title, concerning the Council.

(*c*) *He ſhall be ſatisfied with pleaſure*, etc.] Abarbanel refers theſe words to a future age.

(*d*) *When the ſpoil ſhall be divided*, etc.] The Babyloniſh Gemara, entitled, סוכה, tells us, that theſe words are to be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe. Alſeck upon this place ſays, that by *ſpoils* are to be underſtood the honours and rewards of wiſe men.

becauſe he ſubmitted himſelf to death, and was reckoned amongſt the wicked; and when he bore the puniſhment of other men's crimes, he made himſelf a petitioner for the guilty. Which of the kings or prophets can be named, to whom theſe things will agree? Certainly none of them. And as to what the modern Jews conceit, that the Hebrew people themſelves are here ſpoken of, who, being diſperſed into all nations, ſhould by their example and diſcourſe make proſelytes; this ſenſe, in the firſt place, is inconſiſtent with many teſtimonies of the ſacred writings, which declare, that no misfortunes ſhould befal the Jews (*a*), which, and much greater than which, they have not deſerved by their actions. Further, the order itſelf of the prophetic diſcourſe, will not bear ſuch an interpretation. For the prophet, or, which ſeems more agreeable to that place, God ſays, *This evil hath happened to him for the ſins of my people.* Now, Iſaiah's people, or God's people, are the Hebrew people; wherefore he who is ſaid by Iſaiah to have endured ſuch grievous things, cannot be the ſame people. The ancient Hebrew teachers more rightly confeſſed, that theſe things were ſpoken of the Meſſiah; which, when ſome of the latter ſaw, they

(*a*) *That no misfortunes ſhould befal the Jews*, etc.] This appears from thoſe places of the prophets cited above, and from Daniel ix. and Nehemiah ix. To which we may add, that he of whom Iſaiah ſpeaks, was to pray to God for the heathens, which the Jews do not do.

imagined two Meſſiahs (*a*); one of which they call the ſon of Joſeph, who endured many evils, and a cruel death; the other the Son of David, to whom all things ſucceeded proſperouſly; tho' it is much eaſier (*b*), and more agreeable to the writings of the prophets, to acknowlege one, who arrived at his kingdom through adverſity and death, which we believe concerning Jeſus, and which the thing itſelf ſhews us to be true.

SECT. XX. *And as though they were good Men who delivered him to Death.*

MANY are with-held from embracing the doctrine of Jeſus, out of a prejudiced notion they have entertained of the virtue and goodneſs of their forefathers, and eſpecially of the chief prieſts; who condemned Jeſus, and rejected his doctrine, without any juſt reaſon. But what ſort of perſons their forefathers often were, that they may not think I falſely ſlander them, let them hear in the very words of their law, and of the prophets, by whom they are often called uncircumciſed in ears and heart (*c*); a people who honoured God with their lips (*d*), and with coſtly rites, but their mind was far removed from

(*a*) *They imagined two Meſſiahs*, etc.] See the Talmud, entitled, Succha, R. Solomon, and R. David Kimchi.

(*b*) *Though it is much eaſier*, etc.] Which Abarbanal follows, not in one place only, on this chapter of Iſaiah.

(*c*) *Uncircumciſed in ears and heart*, etc.] Jerem. iv. 4. vi. 20.

(*d*) *A people who honoured God with their lips*, etc.] Deut. xxxii. 5, 6, 15, 28. Iſa. xxix. 13. Amos v. 21. Ezek. xvi. 3.

him. It was their forefathers who were very near killing their brother Joſeph (*a*), and who actually ſold him into bondage: it was their forefathers alſo, who made Moſes (*b*), their captain and deliverer, whom the earth, ſea, and air obeyed, weary of his life, by their continual rebellions; who deſpiſed the bread ſent from heaven (*c*); who complained as if they were in extreme want (*d*), when they could ſcarce contain within them the birds they had eaten. It was their forefathers who forſook the great and good king David (*e*), to follow his rebellious ſon: it was their forefathers who ſlew Zacharias (*f*), the ſon of Jehoiada, in the moſt holy place, making the very prieſt himſelf a ſacrifice of their cruelty. And as to the high prieſts (*g*), they were ſuch as treacherouſly deſigned the death of Jeremiah, and had effected it, if they had not been hindered by the authority of ſome of the rulers; however they extorted thus much, that he ſhould be held a captive (*h*) till the very moment the city was taken. If any one think that they who

(*a*) *Who were very near killing their brother*, etc.] Gen. xxxviii.

(*b*) *Who made Moſes*, etc.] The places are obſerved before in the ſecond book.

(*c*) *Who deſpiſed the bread*, etc.] Numb. xi. 6.

(*d*) *Who complained as if they were in extreme want*, etc.] In the forecited eleventh chapter towards the end.

(*e*) *Who forſook the great and good king David*, etc.] 2 Sam. xv.

(*f*) *Who ſlew Zacharias*, etc.] 2 Chron. xxiv. 21.

(*g*) *And as to the high prieſts*, etc.] Jer. xxvi.

(*h*) *That he ſhould be held a captive*, etc.] Jer. xxxviii.

lived in the times of Jeſus were better, Joſephus can free them from this miſtake, who deſcribes their moſt horrid crimes, and their puniſhments, which were heavier than any that were ever heard of; and yet, as he himſelf thinks, beneath what they deſerved (*a*). Neither are we to think better of the council, eſpecially when, at that time, the members of it were not admitted according to the antient cuſtom by the impoſition of hands, but were wont to be choſen at the will of great men (*b*); as the chief prieſts alſo were, whoſe dignity was not now perpetual, but yearly (*c*), and oftentimes purchaſed. So that we ought not to wonder that men ſwelled with pride, whoſe avarice and ambition was inſatiable, ſhould be enraged at the ſight of a man, who urged the moſt holy precepts, and reproved their lives by their difference from his. Nor was he accuſed of any thing, but what the beſt men of old were: thus Micaiah (*d*), who lived in the time of Jehoſaphat, was delivered to priſon for reſolutely aſſerting the truth againſt four hundred falſe prophets. Achab charged Elijah (*e*), juſt as the

(*a*) *Beneath what they deſerved*, etc.] He ſays, no other city ever endured ſuch calamities, nor was there ever any age ſo fruitful of all kinds of wickedneſs. The Jews brought greater miſchiefs upon themſelves, than the Romans did, who came to expiate their crimes.

(*b*) *At the will of great men*, etc.] Joſephus xiv. 9.

(*c*) *But yearly, and oftentimes purchaſed*, etc.] Joſephus xviii. 3, 6.

(*d*) *Thus Micaiah*, etc.] 2 Kings xxii.

(*e*) *Achab charged Elijah*, etc.] 1 Kings xviii. 17. Ahab ſaid to Elijah, *Art not thou*

chief prieſts did Jeſus, with being a diſturber of the peace of Iſrael. And Jeremiah was accuſed (*a*), as Jeſus was, of propheſying againſt the temple. To which may be added, what the antient Hebrew teachers have left us in writing (*b*), that in the times of the Meſſiah, men would have the impudence of dogs, the ſtubbornneſs of an aſs, and the cruelty of a wild beaſt. And God himſelf, who ſaw, long before, what ſort of men many of the Jews would be, in the times of the Meſſiah, foretold that they, who were not his people (*c*), ſhould be admitted to be his people, and that out of every city (*d*) and village of the Jews, not above one or two ſhould go up to the holy

he that troubles Iſrael? And thus the high prieſts ſaid of Jeſus, Luke xxiii. 2. *We found this man a troubler of Iſrael.*

(*a*) *And Jeremiah was accuſed*, etc.] Jer. vii. 4. and following. xxvi. 6, 11.

(*b*) *Have left us in writing*, etc.] See the Talmud, concerning the Council; Kelmboth and Sota. R. Solomon on the forementioned title, concerning the Council, ch. Helech; and the Talmud, entitled, concerning Weights. And alſo the tradition of Rabbi Judah, in the Gemara, on the ſame title, concerning the Council, ch. Helech. 'At that time when the ſon of David ſhall come, the houſe that was appointed of God, ſhall be made a brothel-houſe.' See Jeremiah x 21. xix. 14. [Here was a great miſtake, for the Maſoreth was put inſtead of the Gemara; for theſe words are to be found in the Gemara, ch. xi. entitled, concerning the Council. 'At that time, when the ſon of David ſhall come, the houſe of aſſembling together, בית ועד, ſhall be made a brothel-houſe. Ed. Coccii, ſect. 27. Le Clerc.]

(*c*) *Who were not his people*, etc.] Hoſea ii. 24.

(*d*) *And that out of every city*, etc.] Jerm. iii. 14, 17. and Iſaiah liii.

mountain; but that what was wanting in their number, ſhould be filled up by ſtrangers. And alſo that the Meſſiah ſhould be the deſtruction (*a*) of the Hebrews; but that this ſtone which was rejected by the maſter-builders, ſhould be put in the chief place, to hold the whole fabric together.

SECT. XXI. *An Anſwer to the Objection of the Chriſtians worſhipping many Gods.*

IT remains that we anſwer two accuſations which the Jews aſſault the doctrine and worſhip of the Chriſtians with. The firſt is this; they affirm, that we worſhip many gods: but this is no more than an odious explication of a doctrine which appears ſtrange to them. For there is no more reaſon why this ſhould be objected againſt the Chriſtians, than againſt Philo (*b*) the

(*a*) *That the Meſſiah ſhould be the deſtruction*, etc.] Iſa. viii. 14. Pſalm cxviii. 22.

(*b*) *Than againſt Philo the Jew*, etc.] Concerning the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain. 'When God, attended with his two principal powers, Government and Goodneſs; Himſelf, who is one only, being between them, he framed three conceptions in the contemplative ſoul: each of which can by no means be comprehended, for his powers are unlimited, they each contain the whole.' Afterwards he calls Government, Power; and Goodneſs he calls Beneficence; and ſays, that they are not pronounced by a pious mind, but kept in ſilent ſecrecy. And the ſame we find, in his book of Cherubim. In the ſecond book of the Huſbandry of Noah, he mentions Exiſtence, the Governing Power, the Merciful Power. Maimonides, in the beginning of his book of Fundamentals, and after him Joſeph Albo, diſtinguiſh in God, *that which underſtandeth; that*

Jew, who often affirms, that there are three things in God; and he calls the *Reaſon*, or *Word of God* (*a*), the *Name of God*, the Maker of the world (*b*); not unbegotten (*c*), as is God the Father of all; nor yet begotten in like manner as men are: the ſame is likewiſe called the Angel (*d*), or the embaſſador, who takes care of the univerſe, by Philo himſelf, and by Moſes (*e*)

by which any thing is underſtood; and the underſtanding. We find ſomething belonging to this matter in Abeneſdras, on Gen. xviii. and Maimonides's Guide to the Doubting, part i. ch. 68,

(*a*) *Or word of God*, etc.] In his Allegories, and of the Confuſion of Tongues.

(*b*) *The maker of the world*, etc.] In his Allegories: 'His Word, by making uſe of which, as of an inſtrument, he made the world.' Concerning Cain. 'The Word of God was the inſtrument by which it [the world] was made.' (The word λόγος, might better be tranſlated *reaſon*, here in Philo, as I have abundantly ſhown in the Diſſertation on the beginning of St. John. Le Clerc.)

(*c*) *Not unbegotten, as is God, the Father of all*, etc.] The place is in the book, entitled, *Who ſhall inherit divine Things*. The ſame word is called by Philo, the *image* of God, in his book of Monarchy; and in that of Dreams ſent by God; ſometimes ἀπεικόνισμα, *the reſemblance*, as in that book, intitled, *The wicked lay ſnares for the righteous*. Sometimes χαρακτὴρ, *the form*, as in book ii. of Agriculture. Compare John i. Heb. i. 3.

(*d*) *The Angel, or the Ambaſſador*, etc.] He calls him Ἄγγελος, *Angel*, in his Allegories, and in his book of Cherubin; Ἀρχάγγελος, *Archangel*, in his book, intitled, *Who ſhall inherit divine Things*, and in his book *of the Confuſion of Tongues*. And the ſame is called *Angel*, and יהוה *Jehovah*, by R. Samuel, in Mechor Chaim.

(*e*) *Moſes the ſon of Nehemannus*, etc.] The learned Maſius has tranſlated his words thus, on the fifth ch. of Joſhua, 'That Angel, to ſpeak the truth, is the Am-

the ſon of Nehemannus: or againſt the Cabaliſts (*a*), who diſtinguiſh God into three lights;

gel, the Redeemer, of whom it is written; becauſe my name is in him. That Angel, I ſay, who ſaid to Jacob, *I am the God of Bethel:* he of whom it is ſaid, And God called Moſes out of the buſh. And he is called an Angel, becauſe he governs the world. For it is written, Jehovah, (that is, the Lord God) brought us out of Egypt; and in other places, he ſent his Angel, and brought us out of Egypt: beſides it is written, and the Angel of his preſence hath made them ſafe, namely, that Angel which is the preſence of God; concerning whom it is ſaid, My preſence ſhall go before, and I will cauſe thee to reſt. Laſtly, this is that Angel of whom the prophet ſaid, And ſuddenly the Lord whom ye ſeek, ſhall come into his temple, even the Angel of the covenant, whom ye deſire.' And again, other words of the ſame perſon to this purpoſe: 'Conſider diligently what thoſe things mean; for Moſes and the Iſraelites always wiſhed for the firſt Angel; but they could not rightly underſtand who he was. For they had it not from others, nor could they arrive fully at it by prophetic knowlege. But the preſence of God, ſignifies God himſelf, as is confeſſed by all interpreters; neither could any one underſtand thoſe things by dreams, unleſs he were ſkilled in the myſteries of the law.' And again: 'My preſence ſhall go before, that is, the Angel of the covenant whom ye deſire, in whom my preſence will be ſeen. Of whom it is ſaid, I will hear thee in an acceptable time; for my name is in him, and I will make thee to reſt; or I will cauſe him to be kind and merciful to thee. Nor ſhall he guide thee by a rigid law, but kindly and gently.' Compare with this, what we find in Manaſſes Conciliator, in the ninteenth queſtion of Geneſis. [The name of this Rabbi's father, may better be pronounced *Nachman*, for it is written נחמן *Nahhman*. Le Clerc.]

(*a*) *Or againſt the Cabaliſts*, etc.] See the Appendix to Schindler's Hebrew Lexicon. in the characters אבן. And the book called Schep-tal, ſays, ספרות Siperoth, Number in God does not deſtroy his unity.

and ſome of them by the ſame names as the Chriſtians do, of the Father, Son or Word, and Holy Ghoſt. And to take that, which is chiefly allowed amongſt all the Hebrews; that Spirit by which all the prophets were moved, is not any created thing, and yet is diſtinguiſhed from him that ſent it; as likewiſe that which is commonly called the Schechinah (*a*). Now, many of the Hebrews have this tradition (*b*), that that divine power which they call Wiſdom, ſhould dwell in the Meſſiah; whence the Chaldee Paraphraſt (*c*) calls the Meſſiah, the *Word of God*; as the Meſſiah is alſo called by David, and others, by (*d*)

(*a*) *Commonly called the Schechinah*, etc.] And they diſtinguiſh it from the Holy Ghoſt. See the Jeruſalem Gemara, entitled, concerning Inſtructions, ch. 3. And the Babyloniſh Gemara, entitled, Jomach 1. R. Jonathan, in his Preface to Ecka Rabthi, ſays, that the Schechinah remained three years and a half upon mount Olivet, expecting the converſion of the Jews; which is very true, if we apprehend him right.

(*b*) *Many of the Hebrews have this tradition*, etc.] Rabbi Solomon, on Geneſis xix. 18. acknowleges, that God can take upon him human nature, which he thinks was formerly done for a time; to which agrees the Talmud, entitled, Schebnoth and Sabbathoth.

(*c*) *Whence the Chaldee Paraphraſt*, etc.] As Hoſea xii. [But they are miſtaken who think that the Chaldee Paraphraſt means any thing elſe by the *name of God*, but God himſelf; as a learned man hath ſhewn, in the *Balance of Truth*, publiſhed in the year 1700, a long time after the author's death. Le Clerc.]

(*c*) *By the venerable name of God*, etc.] Namely, יהוה *Jehovah*. Jonathan and David Kimchi on Jeremiah xxiii. 6. with which agrees *Abba* in Echa Rabbathi. יהוה צבאות *Jehovah Sabaoth*, Zachariah xiv. 16. The Talmud in Taanith, from Iſaiah

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the venerable name of God, and alſo of Lord (*a*).

SECT. XXII. *And that human Nature is worſhipped by them.*

To the other objection they make againſt us, namely, that we give the worſhip due to God, to a being made by God; the anſwer is ready: for we ſay, that we pay no other worſhip or honour to the Meſſiah, but what we are commanded (*b*) in Pſalm ii. and cx. the former of which was fulfilled in David only in an incomplete manner, and belonged more eminently to the Meſſiah, as David Kimchi (*c*), a great enemy to the Chriſtians, acknowleges; and the latter cannot be explained of any other but the Meſſiah. For the fictions of the latter Jews; ſome of Abraham, ſome of David, and others of Hezekiah, are very trifling. The Hebrew inſcription ſhows us, that it was a Pſalm of David's own. Therefore what David ſays *was ſaid to his Lord*, cannot agree to David himſelf, nor to Hezekiah, who was of the poſterity of David, and no way

xxv. 9. ſaith, in that time God, יהוה *Jehovah*, ſhall be ſhown, as it were with the finger.

(*a*) *And alſo the Lord*, etc.] אלהים *Elohim*, Pſal. xlv. 7. which Pſalm, the Chaldee Paraphraſt there owns, treats of the Meſſiah, as he did before in that place of Iſaiah juſt now cited. Alſo אדון *Adonai* in Pſalm cx. which treats of the Meſſiah, as will preſently appear.

(*b*) *But what we are commanded*, etc.] The very learned Rabbi Saadia explains theſe places, and Zachariah ix. 9. of the Meſſiah.

(*c*) *As David Kimchi*, etc.] This ſame ſecond Pſalm is expounded of the Meſſiah, by Abraham Eſdras, and R. Jonathan in Bereſith Rabba.

more excellent than David. And Abraham had not a more excellent prieſthood; nay, Melchiſedec gave him his bleſſing, as inferior to himſelf (*a*). But both this, and that which is added, concerning the ſcepter's coming out of Sion (*b*), and extending to the moſt diſtant places, plainly agrees to the Meſſiah; as is clear from thoſe places which (*c*), without doubt, ſpeak of the Meſſiah; neither did the antient Hebrews and Paraphraſts underſtand them otherwiſe. Now, that Jeſus of Nazareth was truly the perſon, in whom theſe things were fulfilled, I could believe upon the affirmation of his diſciples only, upon the account of their great honeſty; in the ſame manner, as the Jews believe Moſes, without any other witneſs in thoſe things which he ſays were delivered to him from God. But there are very many (*d*) and very ſtrong arguments beſides this, of that exceeding power which we affirm Jeſus to have obtained. He himſelf was ſeen by many after he was reſtored to life: he was ſeen to be taken up into heaven: moreover, devils were caſt out, and diſeaſes healed, by his name only; and the gift of tongues was given to his diſciples; which things Jeſus himſelf promiſed, as ſigns of

(*a*) *As inferior to himſelf*, etc.] And received the tythe of him by a ſacerdotal right, Gen. xiv. 19, 20.

(*b*) *A ſceptre's coming out of Sion*, etc.] Pſalm cx. 2.

(*c*) *As is clear from thoſe places*, etc.] As Gen. xlix. 10. and thoſe before cited out of the prophets.

(*d*) *But there are very many*, etc.] See them handled before in the ſecond book; and what is ſaid in the beginning of this book.

his kingdom. Add to this, that his ſcepter, that is, the word of the goſpel, came out of Sion, and, without any human aſſiſtance, extended itſelf to the utmoſt limits of the earth, by the divine power alone; and made nations and kings ſubject unto it, as the Pſalms expreſly foretold. The Cabaliſtical Jews made the Son of Enoch (*a*) a certain middle perſon betwixt God and men, who had no token of any ſuch great power. How much more reaſonable then is it, for us to do it to him, who gave us ſuch inſtructions? Neither does this at all tend to the leſſening of God the Father, from whom this power (*b*) of Jeſus was derived, and to whom it will return (*c*), and whoſe honour it ſerves (*d*).

(*a*) *Made the Son of Enoch*, etc.] The name which the Hebrews give him, is, מטטרון *Metator*. So the Latins call him, who prepares the way for the king. Thus Lucan:

As Harbinger, to the Heſperian fields, I boldly come.

Vegetius, book ii. ſays, they were called Metatores, 'Harbingers in the camps, who went before and choſe a place fit for the camp.' And thus Suidas: Μετάτωρ, 'A Harbinger, is a meſſenger, who is ſent before from the prince.' (The Rabbies rather call it *Metatron*, מטטרון; concerning which, ſee John Buxtorf's Chaldee and Rabbinical Lexicon. Le Clerc.)

(*b*) *From whom this power*, etc.] As himſelf confeſſes, John v. 19, 30, 36, 43. vi. 36, 57. viii. 28, 43. x. 18, 29. xiv. 28, 31. xvi. 28. xx. 21. And the apoſtle to the Hebrews, v. 5. Rom. vi. 4. 1 Cor. xi. 24.

(*c*) *And to whom it will return*, etc.] As the apoſtle confeſſes, 1 Cor. xv. 24.

(*d*) *And whoſe honour it ſerves*, etc.] John xiii. 31. xiv. 13. Rom. xvi. 27. Therefore the Talmud, entitled, concerning the Council, denies Jeſus to be the

SECT. XXIII. *The Concluſion of this Part, with a Prayer for the Jews.*

IT is not the deſign of this treatiſe, to examine more nicely into theſe things; nor had we treated of them at all, but to make it appear, that there is nothing in the Chriſtian religion, either impious or abſurd, which any man can pretend againſt embracing a religion recommended by ſo great miracles, whoſe precepts are ſo virtuous, and whoſe promiſes are ſo excellent. For he who has once embraced it, ought to conſult thoſe books, which we have before ſhewn to contain the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, for particular queſtions. Which, that it may be done, let us beſeech God, that he would enlighten the minds of the Jews with his own light, and render thoſe prayers effectual, which Chriſt put up for them (*a*), when he hung upon the croſs.

name of an idol; ſeeing the Chriſtians, in honouring him, have a regard to God the maker of the world.

(*a*) *Which Chriſt put up for them*, etc.] Luke xxiii. 34.

BOOK VI.

SECT. I. *A Confutation of Mahometaniſm; the Original thereof.*

INSTEAD of a preface to this ſixth book, which is deſigned againſt the Mahometans; it relates the judgments of God againſt the Chriſtians, down to the original of Mahometaniſm; namely, how that ſincere and unfeigned piety (*a*), which flouriſhed amongſt the Chriſtians, who were moſt grievouſly afflicted and tormented; began by degrees to abate; after Conſtantine and the following emperors had made the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion, not only ſafe but honourable; but having, as it were, thruſt the world into the church (*b*), firſt, the Chriſtian princes

(*a*) *How that ſincere and unfeigned piety*, etc.] See Ammianus Marcellinus, at the end of the twenty-firſt book concerning Conſtantius: 'And above all, he was very ready to take away what he had given; confounding the Chriſtian religion, which is perfect and ſincere, with old wives fables; by more intricately ſearching into which, rather than ſeriouſly ſettling them, he cauſed a great many differences; which ſpreading further, he kept up by quarrelling about words; that the body of prelates, who were the public pack-horſes, running here and there in ſynods, as they call them, might cut the nerves of their carriage; by endeavouring to make every rite conformable to their own opinion.'

(*b*) *Thruſt the world into the church*, etc.] See what is excellently ſaid about this, in Chryſoſtom's ſecond Moral Diſcourſe, on the twelfth chapter of the 2 Cor. after ver. 10.

waged war without meaſure (*a*), even when they might have enjoyed peace. The biſhops quarrelled with each other moſt bitterly (*b*), about

(*a*) *The Chriſtian princes waged war*, etc.] It is a commendable ſaying of Marcian in Zonaras, 'That a king ought not to take up arms, ſo long as he can maintain peace.'

(*b*) *The biſhops quarrelled with each other*, etc.] Ammianus, book xxvii. 'The cruel ſeditions of the quarrelſome people, which gave riſe to this buſineſs, frighted this man alſo, (Viventius, chief commiſſioner of the palace.) Damaſus and Urſicinus, being above all reaſonable meaſure, deſirous of ſeizing the epiſcopal chair, contended with each other moſt vehemently by different intereſts; their accomplices on each ſide carrying on their differences as far as death and wounds; which Viventius not being able to correct or ſoften, being compelled by great force, retired into the ſuburbs; and Damaſus overcame in the conteſt, the party which favoured him, preſſing hard. And it is evident, that in the palace of Sicininus, where the aſſemblies of the Chriſtians uſed to be, there were found the dead bodies of one hundred and thirty-ſeven, ſlain in one day; and it was a long time before the enraged common people could be appeaſed. Nor do I deny, when I conſider the city's pomp, but that they who are deſirous of ſuch things, may lawfully contend, by ſtretching their lungs to the utmoſt, in order to obtain what they aim at: becauſe when they are arrived at it, they will be ſo ſecure, that they may enrich themſelves with the gifts of matrons, may ſit and ride in their chariots, be neatly dreſſed, have large feaſts provided, inſomuch that their banquets will exceed the royal tables; but ſuch perſons might have been more truly happy, if they had deſpiſed the grandeur of the city, which flattered their vices; and had lived after the manner of ſome of the provincial biſhops; whoſe ſparingneſs in eating and drinking moderately, and meanneſs in clothes, and eyes fixed on the ground continually, recommend them as pure and modeſt to the

the higheſt places: and, as of old, the preferring the tree of knowlege to the tree of life (*a*), was the occaſion of the greateſt evils; ſo then, nice enquiries were eſteemed more than piety, and religion was made an art (*b*). The conſe-

Deity, and to thoſe that worſhip him.' And a little after; 'The chief juſtice, whilſt he takes care of the government in a higher degree; amongſt other things, by manifold acts of integrity and goodneſs, for which he has been famous from the beginning of his youth, has obtained that which ſeldom happens; that at the ſame time that he is feared, he does not loſe the love of his ſubjects; which is ſeldom very ſtrong towards thoſe judges they are afraid of. By whoſe authority and juſt determinations of truth, the tumult, raiſed by the quarrels of the Chriſtians, was appeaſed; and Urſicinus being driven away, the Roman ſubjects grew into a firm peace jointly, and with one mind; which is the glory of an eminent ruler, regulating many and advantageous things.' This was that chief juſtice of whom Jerom tells a ſtory, not unworthy to be mentioned here; to Pammachius, againſt the errors of John of Jeruſalem. 'The chief juſtice, that died when he was deſigned for conſul, uſed to ſay jeſtingly to the holy pope Damaſus; Make me biſhop of the city of Rome, and I will be a Chriſtian immediately.' See alſo what the ſame Ammianus ſays, book xv. The African council did not without reaſon admoniſh the biſhop of the city of Rome thus: 'That we may not ſeem to bring the vain arrogance of the age, into the church of Chriſt, which affords the light of ſimplicity, and the day of humility, to them who deſire to ſee God.' To which we may add the noble epiſtles of the Roman biſhop Gregory, truly ſtiled the Great, book iv. 32, 34, 36. book vi. 30. book vii. Indict. 1. epiſt. 30.

(*a*) *Preferring the tree of knowlege*, etc.] Gen. ii. iii.

(*b*) *And religion was made an art*, etc.] See what was before quoted out of the twenty-firſt book of Ammianus. The ſame hiſtorian, book xxiii. in the Hiſtory of

quence of which was, that after the example of

Julian, ſays, 'And that his diſpoſition of things might produce a more certain effect, having admitted the diſagreeing prelates of the Chriſtians, together with the divided multitude, into the palace; he admoniſhed them that every one, laying aſide their civil diſcords, ſhould apply himſelf without fear to his religion; which he urged the more earneſtly, becauſe liberty is apt to increaſe diſſentions; that he might have the leſs reaſon to fear the common people, when they were all of one mind, knowing that no beaſts are ſo miſchievous to mankind, as very many of the Chriſtians were, who were ſo outrageous againſt one another.' See alſo Procopius, in the firſt of his Gothics, to be read with ſome abatement here, as in other places. 'Embaſſadors came from Byzantium, to the biſhop of Rome, viz. Hypatius biſhop of Epheſus, and Demetrius biſhop of Philippi in Macedonia, concerning an opinion which was controverted amongſt the Chriſtians; though I know what oppoſition they made, yet I am very unwilling to relate it. For I think it the maddeſt folly to ſearch nicely into the nature of God, and wherein it conſiſts. For, as I conceive, man cannot fully comprehend human things, much leſs thoſe that appertain to the divine nature. I may, therefore, ſecurely paſs by theſe things in ſilence, and not diſturb what they reverence. As for myſelf, I can ſay nothing more of God, but that he is every way good, and upholds all things by his power; he that knows more, whether he be a prieſt, or one of the common people, let him ſpeak it. Gregoras, book xii. cites the ſaying of Lyſis the Pythagorean, and afterwards of Synefius; 'That talking philoſophy among the vulgar, was the cauſe of mens ſo much contemning divine things.' So alſo book the tenth, he much diſſuades men from ſuch diſputes; and ſpeaking of the Latins of his time, he ſays, 'I blame and condemn the Italians highly, becauſe they run into divine matters with great arrogance.' Afterwards he adds: 'Amongſt them, the mechanics utter the myſteries of divinity, and they are all as eager of reaſoning ſyllogiſtically,

them who built the tower of Babel (*a*), their raſhly affecting lofty matters, produced different languages and confuſion among them; which the common people taking notice of, many times not knowing which way to turn themſelves, caſt all the blame upon the ſacred writings, and began to avoid them, as if they were infected. And religion began every where to be placed, not in purity of mind, but in rites, as if Judaiſm were brought back again; and in thoſe things, which contained in them more of bodily exerciſe (*b*), than improvement of the mind; and alſo in a violent adhering to the party they had choſen (*c*); the final event of which was, that there were every where a great many Chriſtians in name (*d*), but very few in reality. God did not overlook theſe faults of his people; but from the fartheſt corners of Scythia (*e*), and Germany (*f*), poured vaſt ar-

as the cattle are of food and graſs. Both they who doubt of what they ought to believe rightly, and they who know not what they ought to believe, nor what they ſay they believe; theſe fill all the theatres, forums, and walks, with their divinity, and are not aſhamed to make the ſun a witneſs of their impudence.'

(*a*) *Who built the tower of Babel*, etc.] Gen. xi. Mahomet often reproaches theſe controverſies of the Chriſtians, particularly in Azoarae, xxvi. xxxii.

(*b*) *More of bodily exerciſe*, etc.] 1 Tim. iv. 8. Col. ii. 23.

(*c*) *The party they had choſen*, etc.] Rom. x. 2. 1 Cor. i. 11. and following verſes.

(*d*) *Chriſtians in name*, etc.] See Salvian, book iii. concerning the government of God. 'Excepting a very few who avoid wickedneſs, what elſe is the whole body of Chriſtians, but a ſink of vice?'

(*e*) *Of Scythia*, etc.] Hunns, Avari, Sabiri, Alani, Enthalites, and Turks.

(*f*) *And Germany*, etc.] Goths, Eruli, Gepidae, Vandals, Francks, Burgundians,

mies, like a deluge, upon the Chriſtian world: and when the great ſlaughter made by theſe did not ſuffice to reform thoſe which remained; by the juſt permiſſion of God, Mahomet planted in Arabia (*a*) a new religion, directly oppoſite to the Chriſtian religion; yet ſuch as did, in a good meaſure, expreſs in words, the life of a great part of the Chriſtians. This religion was firſt embraced by the Saracens, who revolted from the emperor Heraclius; whoſe arms quickly ſubdued Arabia, Syria, Palaeſtine, Egypt, Perſia; and afterwards they invaded Africa, and came over ſea into Spain. But the power of the Saracens was derived to others, particularly to the Turks (*b*), a very warlike people; who, after many long engagements with the Saracens, being deſired to enter into a league, they eaſily embraced a religion agreeable to their manners, and transferred the imperial power to themſelves. Having taken the cities of Aſia and Greece, and the ſucceſs of their arms increaſing, they came into the borders of Hungary and Germany.

SECT. II. *The Mahometans foundation overturned, in that they do not examine into religion.*

THIS religion, which was plainly calculated for bloodſhed, delights much in ceremonies;

Swedes, Almains, Saxons, Varni, and Lombards.

(*a*) *Mahomet planted in Arabia*, etc.] Dr. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, wrote in Engliſh, is very well worth reading, publiſhed at London, Anno 1697. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *Particularly to the Turks*, etc.] See Leunclavius's Hi-

and would be believed, without allowing liberty to enquire into it: for which reaſon the vulgar are prohibited reading thoſe books which they account ſacred; which is a manifeſt ſign of their iniquity. For thoſe goods may juſtly be ſuſpected, which are impoſed upon us with this condition, that they muſt not be looked into. It is true, indeed, all men have not like capacities for underſtanding every thing; many are drawn into error by pride, others by paſſion, and ſome by cuſtom: but the divine goodneſs will not allow us to believe (*b*), that the way to eternal ſalvation cannot be known by thoſe who ſeek it, without any regard to profit or honour; ſubmitting themſelves, and all that belong to them, to God; and begging aſſiſtance from him. And indeed, ſince God has planted in the mind of man a power of judging; no part of truth is

ſtory of Turkey, and Laonicus Chalcocondilas.

(*a*) *And would be believed*, etc.] See the Alcoran Azoara xiii. according to the firſt Latin edition, which, for the reader's ſake, we here follow.

(*b*) *But the divine goodneſs will not allow us*, etc.] See the Anſwer to the Orthodox, queſtion the fourth, among the works of Juſtin. 'That it is impoſſible for him not to find the truth, who ſeeks it with all his heart and power; this our Lord teſtifies when he ſays, *He that aſks, receives; he that ſeeks, ſhall find; and to him that knocks, it ſhall be opened.*' And Origen in his thirteenth book againſt Celſus. 'He ought to conſider, that he who ſees and hears all things, the common parent and maker of the univerſe, judges according to mens deſerts, of the diſpoſition of every one that ſeeks him, and is willing to worſhip him; and he will render to every one of theſe the fruit of his piety.'

more worthy to employ it about, than that which they cannot be ignorant of, without being in danger of miſſing eternal ſalvation.

SECT. III. *A Proof againſt the Mahometans, taken out of the ſacred Books of the Hebrews and Chriſtians; and that they are not corrupted.*

MAHOMET and his followers confeſs, that both Moſes (*a*) and Jeſus (*b*) were ſent by God; and that they who firſt propagated the inſtitution of Jeſus, were holy men (*c*). But there are many things (*d*) related in the Alcoran, which is the law of Mahomet, directly contrary to what is delivered by Moſes, and the diſciples of Jeſus. To inſtance in one example out of many. All the apoſtles and diſciples of Jeſus, entirely agree in this teſtimony, that Jeſus died upon the croſs, returned to life upon the third day, and was ſeen of many: on the contrary, Mahomet ſays, that Jeſus was privately taken up into heaven (*e*); and

(*a*) *That both Moſes*, etc.] Azoara v. xxi.

(*b*) *And Jeſus*, etc.] Azoara v. vii.

(*c*) *Were holy men*, etc.] Azoara v. lxxi.

(*d*) *But there are many things related*, etc.] As the temple of Mecha, built by Abraham, Azoara xi. and many other things of Abraham, Azoara xxxi. A confuſed hiſtory of Gideon and Saul, Azoara iii. Many things in the hiſtory of Exodus, Azoara xvii. xxx. and xxxviii. Many things in the hiſtory of Joſeph, Azoara xii. concerning the birds cut in pieces by Abraham, and called to life again, Azoara iv. concerning Mary's being brought up with Zachariah, Azoara v. concerning the birds made of clay by Jeſus, ibid. and xiii.

(*e*) *That Jeſus was privately taken up into heaven*, etc.] Azoara xi.

that a certain reſemblance of him was fixed to the croſs; and conſequently Jeſus was not dead, but the eyes of the Jews were deceived. This objection cannot be evaded, unleſs Mahomet will ſay, as indeed he does, that the books both of Moſes (*a*), and of the diſciples of Jeſus, have not continued as they were, but are corrupted; but this fiction we have already confuted in the third book. Certainly, if any one ſhould ſay, that the Alcoran is corrupted, the Mahometans would deny it, and ſay, that that was a ſufficient anſwer to a thing which was not proved. But they cannot eaſily bring ſuch arguments for the uncorruptedneſs of their book, as we bring for ours, *viz.* that copies of them were immediately diſperſed all over the world; and that not like the Alcoran in one language only; and were faithfully preſerved by ſo many ſects, who differed ſo much in other things. The Mahometans perſuade themſelves, that in the fourteenth chapter of St. John, which ſpeaks of ſending the comforter, there was ſomething written of Mahomet, which the Chriſtians have put out: but here we may aſk them, do they ſuppoſe this alteration of the ſcripture to have been made after the coming of Mahomet, or before? It is plainly impoſſible to have been done after the coming of Mahomet, becauſe at that time there were extant, all over the world, very many copies, not only Greek, but Syriac, Arabic, and in places diſtant

(*a*) *That the books both of Moſes*, etc.] Azoara ix.

from Arabia, Æthiopic, and Latin, of more verſions than one. Before the coming of Mahomet, there was no reaſon for ſuch a change; for no-body could know what Mahomet would teach: further, if the doctrine of Mahomet had nothing in it contrary to the doctrine of Jeſus, the Chriſtians would as eaſily have received his books, as they did the books of Moſes and the Hebrew prophets. Let us ſuppoſe on each ſide, that there was nothing written either of the doctrine of Jeſus, or of that of Mahomet; equity will tell us, that that is to be eſteemed the doctrine of Jeſus, in which all Chriſtians agree; and that the doctrine of Mahomet, in which all Mahometans agree.

SECT. IV. *From comparing Mahomet with Chriſt.*

LET us now compare the adjuncts and circumſtances of each doctrine together, that we may ſee which is to be preferred to the other: and firſt let us examine their authors. Mahomet himſelf confeſſed, that Jeſus was the Meſſiah (*a*), promiſed in the law and the prophets; he is called by Mahomet himſelf, the Word (*b*), Mind (*c*), and Wiſdom of God (*d*); he is alſo ſaid by him,

(*a*) *That Jeſus was the Meſſiah*, etc.] Azoara, xxix.

(*b*) *The Word*, etc.] Azoara v. and xi. and in the book of Mahomet's doctrine: Euthymius Zigabenus, in his Diſputations againſt the Saracens, ſays, that Jeſus is called by Mahomet, *The Word and Spirit of God.*

(*c*) *Mind*, etc.] Azoara iv. xi. xxix. and in the forementioned book.

(*d*) *And Wiſdom*, etc.] In the forecited places.

to have had no father amongſt men (*a*). Mahomet is acknowleged, by his own diſciples, to have been begotten (*b*) according to the common courſe of nature. Jeſus led an innocent life; againſt which no objection can be made. Mahomet was a long time a robber (*c*), and always effeminate (*d*). Jeſus was taken up into heaven (*e*), by the confeſſion of Mahomet; but Mahomet remains in the grave. And now can any one doubt which to follow?

SECT. V. *And the Works of each of them.*

LET us now proceed to the works of each of them. Jeſus gave ſight to the blind (*f*), made the lame to walk, and recovered the ſick; nay, as Mahomet confeſſes, he reſtored the dead to life. Mahomet ſays, that he himſelf was not ſent with miracles (*g*), but with arms; however there were ſome afterwards, who aſcribed miracles to him; but what were they? None but

(*a*) *To have had no father amongſt men*, etc.] Azoara xxxi.

(*b*) *To have been begotten*, etc.] See the book of Mahomet's Generation.

(*c*) *Was a long time a robber*, etc.] See Mahomet's Chronicon, tranſlated out of Arabic. See the Diſpute betwixt a Saracen and a Chriſtian, publiſhed by Peter, Abbot of Clugny.

(*d*) *And always effeminate*, etc.] Azoara xlii. xliii. lxxv. and lxxvi. See the forementioned Diſputation.

(*e*) *Jeſus was taken up into heaven*, etc.] Azoara xi.

(*f*) *Jeſus gave ſight to the blind*, etc.] Azoara v. xii.

(*g*) *That he himſelf was not ſent with miracles*, etc.] Azoara iii. xiv. xvii. xxx. lxxxi. Concerning this matter, ſee the Life of Mahomet, publiſhed in Engliſh by the learned Dr. Prideaux, p. 30.

ſuch as might eaſily be the effects of human art; as that of the dove flying to his ear; or ſuch as had no witneſſes, as that of the camels ſpeaking to him by night; or elſe ſuch as are confuted by their own abſurdity; as that of a great piece of the moon (*a*) falling into his ſleeve, and ſent back again by him, to make the planet round. Who is there that will not ſay, but that in a doubtful cauſe, we are to ſtick to that law, which has on its ſide the moſt certain teſtimony of the divine approbation? Let us alſo examine them, who firſt embraced each of theſe laws.

SECT. VI. *And of thoſe who firſt embraced each of theſe Religions.*

THEY, who embraced the law of Chriſt, were men who feared God, and led innocent lives; and it is not reaſonable, that God ſhould ſuffer ſuch perſons to be deceived with cunning words, or with a ſhew of miracles. But they who firſt embraced Mahometaniſm (*b*) were robbers, and men void of humanity and piety.

where he ſhows at large, that the falſe prophet dared not boaſt of any miracles. Le Clerc.

(*a*) *As that of a great piece of the moon*, etc.] Azoara lxiv. See this fable more at large, in the chapter Ceramuz, in Cantacuzenus's Oration againſt Mahomet, ſect. 23.

(*b*) *But they who firſt embraced Mahometaniſm*, etc.] This the word *Saracen* ſhows, which ſignifies *Robber*. See Scaliger's Emendation of the times, book iii. chap. of the Arabian Period. [The firſt followers of Mahomet were indeed truly robbers; but the Arabian word to which Scaliger refers, ſignifies *to ſteal privately*, not to *rob*; nor is it credible, that they would take upon themſelves ſuch an

SECT. VII. *And of the Methods by which each Law was propagated.*

NEXT, let us ſee the method by which each religion was propagated. As for the Chriſtian religion; we have already ſaid ſeveral times, that its increaſe was owing to the miracles not only of Chriſt, but of his diſciples and their ſucceſſors; and alſo to their patiently enduring of hardſhips and torments. But the teachers of Mahometaniſm did not work any miracles, did not endure any grievous troubles, nor any ſevere kinds of death, for that profeſſion. But that religion follows (*a*), where arms lead the way; it is the companion of arms; nor do its teachers bring any other arguments for it (*b*), but the ſucceſs of war, and the greatneſs of its power; than which nothing is more fallacious. They themſelves condemn the Pagan rites, and yet we know how great the victories of the Perſians, Macedonians, and Romans were, and how far their enemies extended themſelves. Neither was the event of war al-

infamous name; not to mention that this was more antient than Mahomet, for we find it in Ptolemy and Philoſtorgius; wherefore I rather follow the opinion of thoſe who deduce the name *Saracen* from the word שרק, *Schark*, which ſignifies *Eaſtern*, whence comes שרקיין, *Sharkiin*, *Saracens*, or *people dwelling in the eaſt*, as the Arabians are called in ſcripture. About which ſee Edward Pocock on the Specimen of the Hiſtory of the Arabians in the beginning. Le Clerc.]

(*a*) *But that religion follows where arms lead the way*, etc.] Azoara x. xviii. xxvi.

(*b*) *Nor do its teachers bring any other arguments*, etc.] Azoara xxxiii. xlvii.

ways proſperous to the Mahometans; there are remarkable ſlaughters (*a*) which they have received in very many places, both by land and ſea. They are driven out of all Spain. That thing cannot be a certain mark of true religion, which has ſuch uncertain turns, and which may be common both to good and bad: and ſo much the leſs, becauſe their arms were unjuſt, and often taken up (*b*), againſt a people who no ways diſturbed them, nor were diſtinguiſhed for any injury they had done; ſo that they could have no pretence for their arms, but religion, which is the moſt prophane thing that can be; for there is no worſhip of God (*c*), but ſuch as proceeds

(*a*) *There are remarkable ſlaughters*, etc.] And greater ſince the time of Grotius. For they were driven, after many ſlaughters, from the Auſtrian dominions, from Hungary, Tranſilvania, and Peloponneſus, not many years ſince. And ſince that time, the Turkiſh empire ſeems to decreaſe. In the year 1715, after theſe ſhort notes were firſt publiſhed, the Turks recovered the Morea, which was poorly defended by the Venetian governors; but in the following year 1716, when they attempted to invade Hungary and the iſland of Corſica; they were firſt overthrown in a great fight by the Germans, under the command of prince Eugene of Savoy, and loſt Temiſwaer, which was forced to yield after a ſtout ſiege; then being repulſed by the valour of count Schulembourg, not without loſs, they retired to their fleet. While I was writing this, April 1717, they threatened they would attempt the ſame again with new forces, but the Germans did not ſeem to be much affected with it. Le Clerc.

(*b*) *And often taken up againſt a people*, etc.] Azoara xix.

(*c*) *For there is no worſhip of God*, etc.] Lactantius, book x. ch. 20. 'For there is nothing ſo voluntary as religion; in which if the mind of the ſacrificer goes contrary, it is

from a willing mind. Now, the will is inclined only by inſtruction and perſuaſion, not by threats and force. He that is compelled to believe a thing, does not believe it; but only pretends to believe it, that he may avoid ſome evil. He that would extort aſſent, from a ſenſe of evil or from fear, ſhows, by that very thing, that he diſtruſts arguments. And again, they themſelves deſtroy this very pretence of religion, when they ſuffer thoſe who are reduced to their obedience, to be of what religion they pleaſe; nay, and ſometimes they openly acknowlege (*a*), that Chriſtians may be ſaved by their own law.

SECT. VIII. *And of their Precepts compared with one another.*

LET us alſo compare their precepts together. The one commands patience, nay, kindneſs, towards thoſe who wiſh ill to us: the other, revenge. The one commands that the bonds of matrimony ſhould be perpetual, that they ſhould bear with each other's behaviour; the other gives a liberty of ſeparating (*b*): here, the huſband does the ſame himſelf, which he requires of his wife; and ſhows, by his own example, that love is to be fixed on one. There, women upon women (*c*)

taken away; there remains none.'

(*a*) *And ſometimes they openly acknowlege*, etc.] Azoara i. xii. The book of the doctrine of Mahomet: ſee Enthymius.

(*b*) *The other gives a liberty of ſeparating*, etc.] See Enthymius, and others who have wrote of the Turkiſh affairs.

(*c*) *There women upon women*, etc.] Azoara iii. viii. ix. xxx. lii.

are allowed, as being always new incitements to luſt. Here, religion is reduced inwardly to the mind; that being well cultivated there, it may bring forth fruits, profitable to mankind; there, almoſt the whole force of it is ſpent in circumciſion (*a*), and things indifferent in themſelves (*b*). Here, a moderate uſe of wine and meat is allowed; there, the eating ſwines fleſh (*c*), and drinking wine (*d*), is forbidden; which is the great gift of God, for the good of the mind and body, if taken moderately. And indeed it is no wonder, that childiſh rudiments ſhould precede the moſt perfect law, ſuch as that of Chriſt is; but it is very prepoſterous after the publication thereof, to return to figures and types. Nor can any reaſon be given, why any other religion ought to be publiſhed, after the Chriſtian religion, which is far the beſt.

SECT. IX. *A Solution of the Mahometans Objection concerning the Son of God.*

THE Mahometans ſay, they are offended becauſe we aſcribe a Son to God, who makes no uſe of a wife; as if the word *Son*, as it refers to God, could not have a more divine ſignification. But Mahomet himſelf aſcribes many things to God,

(*a*) *In circumciſion*, etc.] See alſo Bartholomew Georgivitius of the Rites of the Turks.

(*b*) *And things indifferent in themſelves*, etc.] As waſhings. Azoara ix. See alſo Enthymius.

(*c*) *There the eating ſwines fleſh*, etc.] Azoara ii. xxvi.

(*d*) *And drinking wine*, etc.] See Enthymius, and others who have wrote of the affairs of the Saracens.

no leſs unworthy of him, than if it were ſaid he had a wife; for inſtance, that he has a cold hand (*a*), and that himſelf experienced it by a touch; that he is carried about in a chair (*b*), and the like. Now we, when we call Jeſus the Son of God, mean the ſame thing that he did, when he calls him the Word of God (*c*); for the Word is in a peculiar manner produced from the Mind (*d*). To which we may add, that he was born of a Virgin, by the help of God alone, who ſupplied the power of a father; that he was taken up into heaven by the power of God; which things, and thoſe that Mahomet confeſſes, ſhow that Jeſus may (*e*), and ought to be called the Son of God, by a peculiar right.

SECT. X. *There are many abſurd Things in the Mahometan Books.*

BUT, on the other hand, it would be tedious

(*a*) *That he has a cold hand*, etc.] See the place in Richardus againſt the Mahometans, chap. i. xiv. and in Cantacuzenus in the ſecond Oration againſt Mahomet, ſect. xviii. and in the fourth Oration, not far from the beginning.

(*b*) *That he is carried about in a chair*, etc.] In the ſame place.

(*c*) *When he calls him the Word of God*, etc.] See above.

(*d*) *Produced from the Mind*, etc.] See Plato in his Banquet, and Abarbanel in his Dialogue, which is commonly called that of Leo Hebraeus. See Enthymius concerning this matter, in the foremention Diſpute, where he ſays, 'In like manner as our Word proceeds from the Mind,' etc. And cardinal Cuſan, book i. ch. xiii. etc. againſt the Mahometans; and Richardus, ch. ix. and xv.

(*e*) *And Jeſus may, and ought to be called*, etc.] Luke

to relate how many things there are in the Mahometan writings, that do not agree to the truth of hiſtory (*a*); and how many that are very ridiculous. Such as the ſtory of a beautiful woman (*b*), who learnt a famous ſong from angels overtaken with wine; by which ſhe uſed to aſcend up into heaven, and to deſcend from thence; who when ſhe was aſcended very high into the heavens, was apprehended by God, and fixed there, and that ſhe is the ſtar Venus. Such another is that of the mouſe in Noah's ark (*c*), that ſprung out of the dung of an elephant; and, on the contrary, that of a cat (*d*) bred out of the breath of a lion. And particularly, that of death's being changed into a ram (*e*), which was to ſtand in the middle ſpace betwixt heaven and hell; and that of getting rid of banquets (*f*) in the other life by ſweat;

i. 35. John x. 36. Acts iii. 13, 14, 15. xiii. 33. Heb. i. 5. v. 5. In the forementioned book of the Doctrine of Mahomet, Jeſus is brought in, calling God his Father.

(*a*) *That do not agree to the truth of hiſtory*, etc.] As that of Alexander the Great, who came to a fountain where the ſun ſtood ſtill. Azoara xxviii. concerning Solomon, Azoara xxxvii.

(*b*) *The ſtory of a beautiful woman*, etc.] This fable is in the book of the Doctrine of Mahomet, taken out of the book of Enarrations. See alſo Cantacuzenus, in his ſecond Oration againſt Mahomet, chap. 15.

(*c*) *Is that of the mouſe*, etc.] This is in the forementioned book of the Doctrine of Mahomet.

(*d*) *Of a cat*, etc.] In the ſame book.

(*e*) *Of death's being changed into a ram*, etc.] In the end of the forementioned book of the doctrine of Mahomet.

(*f*) *Of getting rid of banquets*, etc.] In the forecited book of the Doctrine of Mahomet.

and that of a company of women's (*a*) being appointed to every one, for ſenſual pleaſure. Which things are really all of them ſuch, that they are deſervedly given over to ſenſeleſſneſs, who can give any credit to them, eſpecially when the light of the goſpel ſhines upon them.

SECT. XI. *The Concluſion to the Chriſtians; who are admoniſhed of their Duty, upon Occaſion of the foregoing Things.*

HAVING finiſhed this laſt diſpute; I come now to the concluſion, which regards not ſtrangers, but Chriſtians of all ſorts and conditions; briefly ſhowing the uſe of thoſe things which have been hitherto ſaid; that thoſe which are right, may be done, and thoſe which are wrong, may be avoided. Firſt, that they lift up undefiled hands to that God (*b*) who made all things (*c*), viſible and inviſible, out of nothing; with a firm perſuaſion (*d*), that he takes care of mankind, ſince

(*a*) *Of a company of women's*, etc.] See what was above alleged on the ſecond book.

(*b*) *That they lift up undefiled hands*, etc.] 1 Tim. ii. James iv. 8. Tertullian in his Apology, 'Thither the Chriſtians direct their eyes, with hands extended, becauſe innocent; with head uncovered, becauſe we are not aſhamed; without any inſtructor, becauſe from our heart we pray for all emperors, that they may enjoy a long life, a ſecure government, a ſafe houſe, courageous armies, a faithful ſenate, an honeſt people, and a peaceful land.'

(*c*) *Who made all things*, etc.] Col. i. 16. Heb. xi. 3. Acts iv. 24. 2 Mac. vii. 28.

(*d*) *With a firm perſuaſion*, etc.] 1 Pet. iii. 11. v. 7.

not a ſparrow (*a*) falls to the ground without his leave: and that they do not fear them (*b*), who can only hurt the body, before him, who hath an equal power over both body and ſoul: that they ſhould truſt (*c*) not only on God the Father, but alſo on Jeſus; ſince there is none other name on earth (*d*), by which we can be ſaved; which they will rightly perform (*e*), if they conſider that not they, who call one by the name of Father, and the other by the name of Lord, ſhall live eternally; but they who conform their lives to his will. They are moreover exhorted, carefully to preſerve the holy doctrine of Chriſt (*f*), as a moſt valuable treaſure; and, to that end, often to read the ſacred writings (*g*); by which no one can poſſibly be deceived, who has not firſt deceived himſelf. For the authors of them were more faithful (*h*), and more full of divine influ-

(*a*) *Since not a ſparrow*, etc.] Matth. x. 29.

(*b*) *And that they do not fear them*, etc.] Mat. x. 28. Luke xii. 4.

(*c*) *That they ſhould truſt*, etc.] John xiv. 2. Heb. xiv. 15, 16. Eph. iii. 12, 17.

(*d*) *None other name on earth*, etc.] Acts iv. 12.

(*e*) *Which they will rightly perform*, etc.] John viii. 43. and following; Mat. vii. 21. John xv. 14. 1 John ii. 3, 4.

(*f*) *The holy doctrine of Chriſt*, etc.] Matth. xiii. 44, 45. 1 Cor. iv. 7. 1 Tim. vi. 20. 2 Tim. i. 14.

(*g*) *Often to read the ſacred writings*, etc.] Col. iii. 16. 1 Theſ. v. 27. Rev. i. 3.

(*h*) *For the authors of them were more faithful*, etc.] Tertullian ſpeaks thus concerning the heretics, in his Preſcription. 'They are wont to ſay, that the apoſtles did not know all things; being acted by the ſame madneſs, by which they again change, and ſay that the apoſtles did indeed know all things, but

ence, than either willingly to deceive us in any neceſſary truth, or to hide it in obſcurity; but we muſt bring a mind prepared to obey (*a*), which if we do, none of thoſe things will eſcape us (*b*), which we are to believe, hope, or do; and by this means, that ſpirit will be cheriſhed (*c*) and excited in us, which is given us as a pledge of future happineſs (*d*). Further, they are to be deterred from imitating the heathen; firſt, in the worſhip of falſe gods (*e*), which are nothing but empty names (*f*); which evil angels make uſe of (*g*) to turn us from the worſhip of the true God (*h*); wherefore we cannot partake of their rites (*i*), and at the ſame time be profited by the ſacrifice of Chriſt. Secondly, In a licentious way of living (*k*), having no other law

did not deliver all things to all men; in both of which they make Chriſt ſubject to reproach; who ſent apoſtles either not well inſtructed, or not very honeſt.' See what there follows, which is very uſeful.

(*a*) *A mind prepared to obey*, etc.] John vii. 17. v. 44. Mat. xi. 25. Philip. iii. 15. 2 Pet. iii. 16. Hoſ. xiv. 10.

(*b*) *None of thoſe things will eſcape us*, etc.] 2 Tim. ii. 15, 16. John xx. 31. 1 Pet. i. 23.

(*c*) *That ſpirit will be cheriſhed*, etc.] 2 Tim. vi. 1. 1 Theſ. v. 19.

(*d*) *A pledge of future happineſs*, etc.] Epheſ. i. 14. 2 Cor. i. 22. v. 3.

(*e*) *In the worſhip of falſe gods*, etc.] 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

(*f*) *Which are nothing but empty names*, etc.] In the ſame, v. 4. x. 19.

(*g*) *Which evil angels make uſe of*, etc.] 1 Cor. x. 20. Rev. ix. 2.

(*h*) *To turn us from the worſhip of the true God*, etc.] Epheſ. ii. 2. Revel. ix. 5. 2 Theſ. ii. 12.

(*i*) *We cannot partake of their rites*, etc.] 1 Cor. x. 20.

(*k*) *In a licentious way of living*, etc.] Eph. ii. 3. Tit. ii. 14.

but what luſt dictates, which Chriſtians ought to be the fartheſt from (*a*); becauſe they ought not only far to exceed the heathen (*b*); but alſo (*c*) the Scribes and Phariſees among the Jews; whoſe righteouſneſs, which conſiſted in certain external acts, was not ſufficient to ſecure them a heavenly kingdom. The circumciſion made with hands availeth nothing now (*d*), but that other internal circumciſion of the heart, obedience to the commands of God (*e*), a new creature (*f*), faith which is effectual by love (*g*), by which the true Iſraelites are diſtinguiſhed (*h*), the myſtical (*i*) Jews, that is, ſuch as praiſe God. The difference of meats (*k*), ſabbaths (*l*), feſtival days (*m*)

(*a*) *Which Chriſtians ought to be the fartheſt from*, etc.] 2 Cor. vi. 15.

(*b*) *Far to exceed the heathen*, etc.] Matth. v. 47. vi. 7, 32.

(*c*) *But alſo the Scribes and Phariſees*, etc.] Matt. v. 20. xxiii. 23. Rom. iii. 20. Gal. ii. 16.

(*d*) *The circumciſion made with hands*, etc.] 1 Cor. vii. 19. Gal. v. 6. vi. 15. Phil. iii. 3. Eph. ii. 11. Col. ii. 11. Rom. ii. 29.

(*e*) *Obedience to the commands of God*, etc.] 1 Cor. vii. 19.

(*f*) *A new creature*, etc.] Gal. vi. 15.

(*g*) *Faith which is effectual by love*, etc.] Gal. v. 6.

(*h*) *By which the true Iſraelites are diſtinguiſhed*, etc.] Rom. ix. 6. 1 Cor. x. 18. Gal. vi. 16. John i. 47.

(*i*) *The myſtical Jews*, etc.] Rom. ii. 28. Philo concerning Allegories. 'Judas was a ſymbol of him that profeſſes [God].'

(*k*) *The difference of meats*, etc.] Acts x. 13, 14, 15. xv. 19, 20. 1 Cor. x. 15. Col. ii. 16, 21.

(*l*) *Sabbaths*, etc.] In the forecited place of the Coloſſians.

(*m*) *Feſtival days*, etc.] In the ſame place, and Rom. xiv. 5.

were the ſhadows of things (*a*), which really are in Chriſt and Chriſtians. Mahometaniſm gave occaſion for mentioning the following admonitions; it was foretold by our Lord Jeſus (*b*), that after his time there ſhould come ſome who ſhould falſely ſay they were ſent of God; but though an angel ſhould come from heaven (*c*), we are not to receive any other doctrine than that of Chriſt, confirmed by ſo many teſtimonies (*d*). In times paſt indeed, God ſpake in many and various manners (*e*), to the pious men that then were; but laſt of all he was pleaſed to call us by his Son, the Lord of all things (*f*), the brightneſs of his Father's glory (*g*), and the expreſs image of his ſubſtance; by whom all things were made (*h*), which were or ſhall be; who acts and upholds all things by his power (*i*); and who, having made atonement for our ſins (*k*), is advanced to the

(*a*) *Were the ſhadows of things*, etc.] Col. ii. 17. Heb. x. 1.

(*b*) *It was foretold by our Lord Jeſus*, etc.] John v. 34. 2 Theſ. ii. 9. Mat. vii. 15. xxiv. 11. Mark xiii. 22. 1 John iv. 1.

(*c*) *An angel ſhould come from heaven*, etc.] Gal. i. 8.

(*d*) *Confirmed by ſo many teſtimonies*, etc.] 1 John v. 7, 8. Heb. ii. 4. xii. 1. John i. 7, 32. v. 32, 37, 39, 46. Luke xxiv. 27. Acts ii. 22, 23. x. 43.

(*e*) *God ſpake in many and various manners*, etc.] Heb. i. 2.

(*f*) *The Lord of all things*, etc.] 1 Cor. xv. 27. Heb. ii. 5.

(*g*) *The brightneſs of his Father's glory*, etc.] Heb. i. 3.

(*h*) *By whom all things were made*, etc.] In the ſame ch. Col. i. 16.

(*i*) *Who acts and upholds all things*, etc.] Heb. i. 3. Rev. i. 5.

(*k*) *Having made atonement for our ſins*, etc.] Heb. i. 3. ix. 12. Mat. xx. 28. 1 John ii. 2. iv. 10. Mat. xxvi. 64. Mark xvi. 19. Acts ii. 33, 34. vii. 55, 56. Rom. viii. 34. Eph. i. 10. Col. iii. 1. Heb. viii. 1. x. 12. xii. 5.

right-hand of God, having obtained a higher dignity than the angels (*a*); and therefore nothing more noble can be expected than such a lawgiver (*b*). They may also take occasion from hence to remember, that the weapons appointed for the soldiers of Christ (*c*), are not such as Mahomet depends upon, but proper to the Spirit, fitted for the pulling down of strong holds, erected against the knowlege of God; the shield of faith (*d*), which may repel the fiery darts of the devil; the breast-plate of righteousness, or holiness of life; for a helmet, which covers the weakest part, the hope of eternal salvation; and for a sword (*e*), the word delivered by the Spirit, which can enter into the innermost parts of the mind. Next follows an exhortation to mutual agreement (*f*), which Christ seriously commended to his disciples when he was about to leave them; we ought not to have amongst us many masters (*g*), but only Jesus Christ: all Christians were baptized (*h*) into the same name, therefore there ought to be no sects or divisions

(*a*) *A higher dignity than the angels*, etc.] 2 Pet. iii. 22. Heb. i. 13. Eph. i. 21.

(*b*) *Than such a lawgiver*, etc.] Heb. ii. 3,—8. iii. 3,—6.

(*c*) *That the weapons appointed for the soldiers of Christ*, etc.] Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 7. x. 4. Eph. vi. 11,—18.

(*d*) *The shield of faith*, etc.] See beside the forecited place to the Ephesians, 1 Thes. v. 8.

(*e*) *And for a sword*, etc.] See beside the forementioned place, Eph. vi. 17. Heb. iv. 12. Rev. i. 6.

(*f*) *To mutual agreement*, etc.] John xiv. 27. xiii. 34, 35. xv. 12, 17. xvii. 20. and following; xx. 19, 26. 1 John iii. 23. Also Eph. iii. 14. and following; vi. 16. Heb. xiii. 20. Matth. v. 9.

(*g*) *We ought not to have amongst us many masters*, etc.] Mat. xxiii. 8. James iii. 1.

(*h*) *All Christians were baptized*, etc.] Rom. vi. 3, 4.

amongſt them (*a*); to which, that there may be ſome remedy applied, thoſe words of the apoſtle are ſuggeſted, to be temperate in our wiſdom (*b*), according to the meaſure of the knowlege (*c*) God has afforded us; if any have not ſo good an underſtanding (*d*) of all things; that we bear with their infirmities, that they may quietly (*e*), and without quarrelling, unite with us; if any exceed the reſt in underſtanding (*f*), it is reaſonable he ſhould exceed in good-will towards them: and as to thoſe who, in ſome things, think otherwiſe than we do (*g*), we are to wait till God ſhall make the hidden truth manifeſt unto them: in the mean time, we are to hold faſt (*h*), and fulfil thoſe things we are agreed in. Now (*i*), we know in part; the time will come (*k*), when all things ſhall be moſt certainly known. But this is required of every one, that they do not unpro-

1 Cor. i. 13, 15. Gal. iii. 27. Eph. iv. 5. Col. ii. 12.

(*a*) *To be no ſects or diviſions amongſt them*, etc.] 1 Cor. i. 10. xi. 18. xii. 25.

(*b*) *To be temperate in our wiſdom*, etc.] Rom. xii. 8, 16. 1 Cor. iv. 6.

(*c*) *According to the meaſure of the knowlege*, etc.] In the forecited place to the Romans, and xii. 6. 2 Cor. x. 13. Eph. iv. 7, 15, 16.

(*d*) *If any have not ſo good an underſtanding*, etc.] Rom. xiv. xv. 2. 1 Cor. viii. 7.

(*e*) *That they may quietly*, etc.] Rom. xiv. 1. 2 Cor. xii. 20. Gal. v. 20. Phil. i. 16. ii. 3, 15. 1 Cor. xi. 16.

(*f*) *If any exceed the reſt*, etc.] Rom. viii. 1, 2, 3, 9. xii. 8. xiii. 3, 14, 16. 1 Cor. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 6. viii. 7. 2 Pet. i. 5, 9.

(*g*) *Who in ſome things think otherwiſe*, etc.] Phil. iii. 15. Eph. iv. 2. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 7. 1 Theſ. iv. 14. 2 Cor. vi. 6. Gal. v. 22. Col. iv. 11. 2 Tim. iv. 2. Luke ix. 54, 55.

(*h*) *We are to hold faſt*, etc.] Phil. iii. 16. Jam. i. 22,--25.

(*i*) *Now, we know in part*, etc.] 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12.

(*k*) *The time will come*, etc.] See the forecited chap. and ver. 1 John iii. 2. Mat. v. 8.

fitably (*a*) keep by them the talent committed to their charge; but uſe their utmoſt endeavours (*b*) to gain others unto Chriſt; in order (*c*) whereunto, we are not only to give them good and wholeſome advice, but to ſet before them an example of reformation of life (*d*); that men may judge of the goodneſs of the maſter, by the ſervant, and of the purity of the law, by their actions. In the laſt place, we direct our diſcourſe, as we did in the beginning, to common readers, beſeeching them to give God the glory, if they receive any good from what has been ſaid (*e*); and if there be any thing they diſlike (*f*), let them impute it to the errors all mankind are prone to fall into; and to the place and time (*g*), in which this was delivered, more according to truth than elaborately.

(*a*) *That they do not unprofitably keep*, etc.] Mat. xxv. 15. and following.

(*b*) *But uſe their utmoſt endeavours*, etc.] 1 Cor. ix. 19, 20, 21, 22.

(*c*) *In order whereunto*, etc.] Gal. vi. 6. Eph. iv. 29. 2 Tim. i. 13. Titus ii. 8.

(*d*) *An example of reformation of life*, etc.] 1 Pet. iii. 1, 16. Eph. vi. 6. 2 Tim. ii. 24. 1 Pet. ii. 12. Eph. iv. 1. Phil. i. 27.

(*e*) *If they receive any good*, etc.] James i. 17. 2 Theſ. i. 3. 1 Cor. i. 4.

(*f*) *And if there be any thing*, etc.] James iii. Gal. vi. 1, 2.

(*g*) *And to the place and time*, etc.] Becauſe this very excellent and learned man was kept in Lipſtadt priſon, to which he was condemned for life; at which time, and in which place, he could never have taken ſo great pains in accompliſhing ſo many pieces, remarkable for great learning, accurate judgment, and ſingular brightneſs, without incredible firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, and unſhaken faith in God; for which endowments beſtowed upon him by God, for the benefit of all Chriſtendom, let every one who reads his other works, or this, with a mind intent upon truth, give thanks to God, as I do from the bottom of my heart. Le Clerc.

THE END.